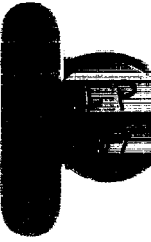


Approved For Release 2000/09/12 : CIA-RDP79T01049A000100060001-0



**State Dept. declassification & release instructions on file**

Approved For Release 2000/09/12 : CIA-RDP79T01049A000100060001-0

**SECRET**

File

25X1A

ISO, OPC

27 January 1950

D/Pub., CRE

CRE 83-49

Reference:

25X1A

1. I am forwarding herewith a memorandum I received from Chief, D/No, relating to your memorandum of 24 January 1950 on the same subject.

2. While I regret the confusion which has arisen on this subject, I trust that you will understand that D/No had reason to believe that it was meeting your requirements in providing the earlier information on [REDACTED]. Be assured that D/No can be relied upon to have an adequate basis for any estimate or report which it makes.

25X1A

3. Attention is drawn to para. 4 of the enclosed memorandum requesting the eventual return of [REDACTED] also enclosed.

25X1A

25X1A

3 Enclosures

Distribution:

OPC  
D/No  
D/Pub.

State Dept. declassification & release instructions on file

**SECRET**

**SECRET**

24 January 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR: D/Pub, ORE

25X1A

ATTENTION :

SUBJECT : ORE 83-49, 18 October 1949,  
"Current Situation in Iceland."

1. Reference is made to my memorandum of 2 December 1949 with regard to the above subject and in particular to paragraph 1a thereof. In response to the request made in the above referenced memorandum, your office furnished a secret report addressed to the Department of State by the then U.S. Minister in Reykjavik, [REDACTED] (copy attached), which purports to substantiate the two statements quoted in my previous memorandum.

25X1A

2. A careful reading of the report does not support the statement quoted in paragraph 1a of my previous memorandum. It is requested that further action be taken to obtain the documentary evidence on which that statement is reported to have been based.

3. In passing, it may be noted that the statement quoted in paragraph 1b of my previous memorandum is also not supported by the report presented as evidence, since when read in context the term "some officials" obviously is intended to refer to Icelandic officials, whereas the suggestion [REDACTED] appears to have derived from the former U.S. Minister to Iceland.

25X6

25X6

25X6

4. Please return Subject report when you have finished with it.

25X1A

25X1A

Incl. (1)

REFERENCE:

**SECRET**

27 January 1950

25X1A

MEMORANDUM FOR: D/Pub [REDACTED]

FROM : Chief, D/No

Subject: Substantiation of certain statements in ORE 83-49

25X1A

1. In response to the request of [REDACTED] transmitted through you to this Division, documentation for certain statements in ORE-83-49 is submitted in an attached Memorandum.

2. I regret that the Despatch No. 314 of the US Minister in Reykjavik was thought, upon careful reading, not to support either of these statements. Renewed and more careful reading of it is recommended, and to facilitate the process three quotations from it are given in the attached memorandum. Concentration upon their meaning may be easier if the relevant sentences are extracted from their rather lengthy context, which no doubt prevented their being understood.

3. I am informed that this Division never did consider Despatch No. 314 to be entirely sufficient evidence for the statements in question. It was declared by a representative of OPC to satisfy his requirements, however, and therefore was submitted for that purpose. Subsequently it appeared that other individuals and offices desired various degrees of substantiating evidence, but the confusion between them and their requirements was such that it was thought best to continue furnishing the same document.

4. Despatch No. 314 is returned, but attention is called to the fact that it is loaned from the files of this Division, and its eventual return to this Division is requested.

25X1A [REDACTED]

Reference: [REDACTED]

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**Next 2 Page(s) In Document Exempt**

**Approved For Release 2000/09/12 : CIA-RDP79T01049A000100060001-0**

**SECRET**

Project: **D-91**

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
OFFICE OF RECORDS AND INFORMATION  
Project Information Memorandum

Date: **7 Dec 49**

To: **D/NO**

From: **Procedures Division, Projects Planning**

Subject: **Islandia defense**

Statement of Project:

Origin: **Internal**

Problem: **To provide further information in support of certain statements in OIR 87-49, "Current Situation in Iceland"**

Scope: **The cited statements are in the last paragraph of the report, and source and identification are requested**

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Graphics (if any):

Form: **Memorandum**

Draft due in D/Pub:

This request was fulfilled orally by [redacted] D/No, to [redacted] OPC, on 6 December.\* The reply consisted of showing [redacted] the source earliest convenience document, which he noted down.

Dissemination Headline  
(if any)

REL  
15 Dec

Responsible Division: **D/NO**

Internal Coordination:

But OPC wants a written reply anyway!

\* Prelim. oral request was received 2 Dec; formal request on 7 Dec.

Departmental responsibilities:

Classification to be no higher than

**TOP SECRET**

Recommended Dissemination:

**A.C.**

**SECRET**

~~SECRET~~

*Office Memorandum* • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : D/Pub  
FROM : Intelligence Control D/No  
SUBJECT: IP-51

DATE: 16 December 1949

1. The attached document is submitted in fulfillment of IP-51, for transmission to the originator of that project. It is requested that the document be returned to this Division.

Enclosure:

Document Despatch No. 314,  
dated 11 November 1948, Secret

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*File*

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**SECRET**


48508

ip-51

2 December 1949

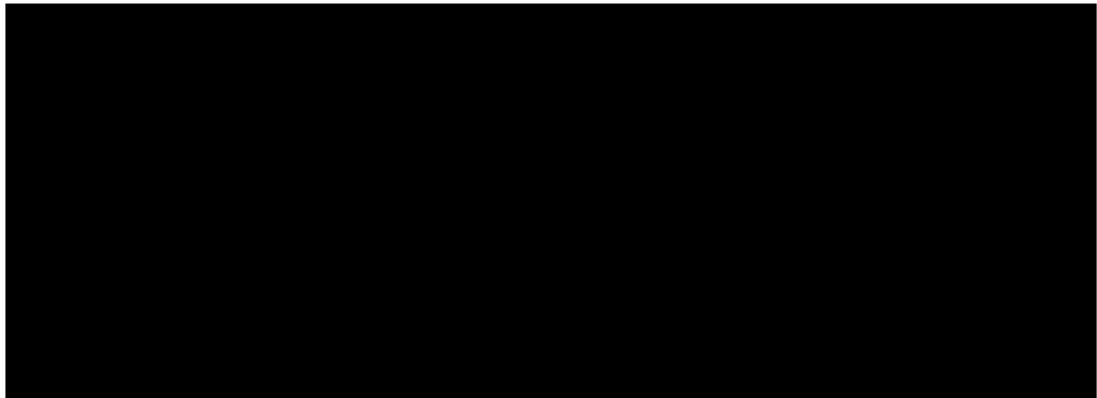
MEMORANDUM FOR: D/Pub. ORE

25X1A

ATTENTION : 

SUBJECT : ORE 83-49, 18 October 1949, "Current Situation in Iceland."

1. Reference is made to the last paragraph of the subject document in which it is stated that:

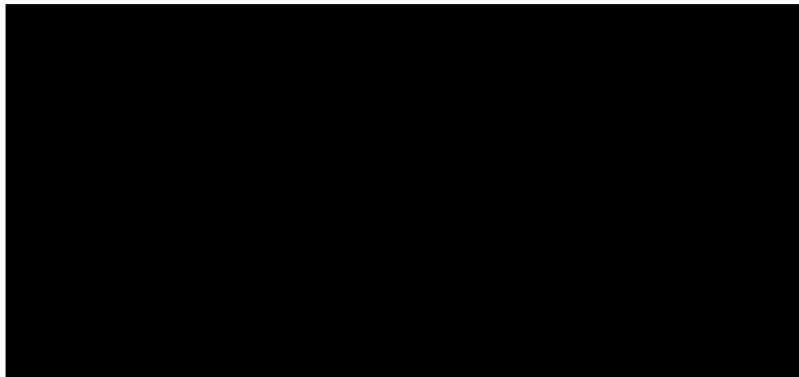


25X6

2. It is requested that information be obtained and furnished this office as to the source of the information given in the above two quotations and identifying the Icelandic officials referred to in each case.

3. It is requested that the information be obtained and furnished on an expedite basis.

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Reference:

**SECRET**



Approved For Release 2000/09/12 : CIA-RDP79T01049A000100060001-0

Approved For Release 2000/09/12 : CIA-RDP79T01049A000100060001-0

SECRET

Project: **27-92**

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

OFFICE OF PROGRAMS AND ESTIMATES

Project Initiation Memorandum

Date: **9 Dec 49**

To: **D/M**

From: Publications Division, Projects Planning **REL**

Subject: **Intelligence estimate on Bulgaria**

Statement of Project:

Origin: **Interest**

Problem: **To provide the intelligence information requested on attached request.**

Scope: **"Statements" requested are understood to mean spelled out analysis, length undetermined. The pertinent section of the IE quarterly periodic review is to be attached in lieu of an answer to point d. The full answer to point d will be made the subject of a separate request and IR, about mid-February.**

Graphics (if any):

Form:

Draft due in D/Pub:

**14 Dec 49**

Dissemination deadline  
(if any):

**14 Dec 49**

Responsible Division:

Internal Coordination:

Departmental responsibilities:

Classification to be no higher than:

**TOP SECRET**

Recommended Dissemination:

**Requester only**

TOP SECRET

IP-52

This request for information on Bulgaria is the first of a series of similar requests, which are distinguished by their comprehensiveness. Coverage of all satellites is anticipated. While the priorities list has not been completely worked out, it stands roughly like this:

- (1) Bulgaria -- immediate
- (2) Yugoslavia -- fairly soon (i.e., before 1 January)
- (3) Hungary -- indeterminate
- (4) etc.

TOP SECRET

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1. A statement on the strategic significance of Bulgaria to the U. S. (*spelled out*)
2. A statement on the strategic significance of a possible Titoist coup in Bulgaria to the U. S., to the USSR.
3. A statement on the strategic significance of an American engineered coup in Bulgaria to the U. S., to the USSR
4. A statement on the economic situation on Bulgaria:  
(a) standard of living, diet, collectivization of agriculture, crop prospects for 1950, etc.; (b) break down of Bulgarian foreign trade: with the USSR; the various satellite nations, the Western nations; (c) Bulgarian industry, its strength and weaknesses; (d) the weak links in the Bulgarian economy and how they are vulnerable to ~~GPC-type~~ activities.  
*ec. warfare*
5. Available information on the terms of the confidential protocol of mutual resistance between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union.
6. All analyses of the situation in Bulgaria produced by ORE during the past year.
7. Draft of ORE Situation Report on Bulgaria (already requested). If this is not available, want the ORE Status Reports on the situation in Bulgaria?

*This would be draft of ec sect. of Bulg SR.*

Approved For Release 2000/09/12 : CIA-RDP79T01049A000100060001-0

**SECRET**

**SECRET**

9 December 1949

MEMORANDUM FOR: CHIEF, PUBLICATIONS DIVISION

SUBJECT : Request for Intelligence Estimates

1. Confirming our conversation of 8 December 1949, it is requested that the information itemized below be furnished this office as early as possible. The priority in which this office holds the project is as explained at our meeting.

a. A statement on the strategic significance of Bulgaria to the U.S.

b. A statement on the strategic significance of a possible Titoist coup in Bulgaria to the U.S., to the USSR.

c. A statement on the strategic significance of an American engineered coup in Bulgaria to the U.S., to the USSR.

d. A statement on the economic situation on Bulgaria:

(1) standard of living, diet, collectivization of agriculture, crop prospects for 1950, etc.;

(2) break down of Bulgarian foreign trade: with the USSR; the various satellite nations, the Western nations;

(3) Bulgarian industry, its strength and weaknesses;


(4) the weak links in the Bulgarian economy and how they are vulnerable to economic warfare.

Available

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e. Available information on the terms of the confidential protocol of mutual assistance between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union.

2. In making reference to this project, it may be identified as 

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*Typo. corrections  
by REL*

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Approved For Release 2000/09/12 : CIA-RDP79T01049A000100060001-0

File

IP-53

19 Dec 49

D/No

REL

Haimdallur

Subject of Project:

Internal

To provide available information on Haimdallur, the Young  
Conservative Party in Iceland

Memo, to be prepared by D/No

30 December 1949

30 December 1949

D/H •

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Requester only



1. Heimdallur (Iceland)
2. Iceland - Pol. & govt.

CONFIDENTIAL

19 December 1949

MEMORANDUM FOR: D/Pub, ORE

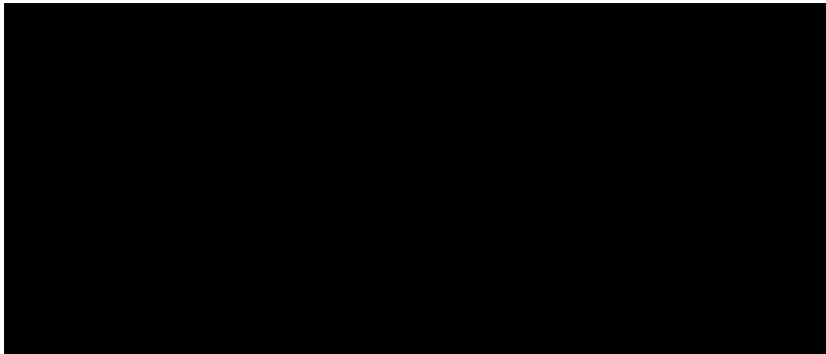
SUBJECT : Request for Information

1. It is requested that this office be furnished as much information as is available on Heimdallur, the Young Conservative Party in Iceland.

2. This information is desired by 1 January 1950.

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Reference:



OK  
REL

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FORM NO. 30-4

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30 December 1949

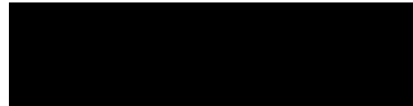
D/Pub

D/No

Heimdallur

The attached material is submitted in response to IP - 53.

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**SECRET**

30 December 1949

**Problem:** To provide available information on "Heimdallur" and the organization of Conservative youth in Iceland

The Conservative party in Iceland has an effective youth organization which takes an active part in public affairs and has on occasion assisted the police of Reykjavik in maintaining order during Communist-instigated public disturbances. Leaders of the Conservative Party have been instrumental in assigning this additional role to the party youth because Iceland's security forces are incapable of suppressing any sizeable public disturbance and in order to thwart the Communists who have instigated such disturbances in the past. The Conservative youth on these occasions appear in a group and thereby exert a steadying influence but do not attempt to use weapons or force. A small vigilante group of young Conservatives from the Reykjavik area was formed at the time of the Airport Agreement negotiations in September 1946, but was subsequently disbanded. Their most recent reappearance was during the 30 March riots outside the Althing when the final vote was taken on participation in the NAP. They then formed an unarmed cordon around the building, but otherwise took no active part in dispersing the Communist-incited mob which stoned the building.

The Communist press in commenting on the riots blamed the Chief

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of Police and the "Heimdallur"\* society of the Conservative youth "who with their American made clubs rushed forward and assaulted the large crowd of women, children, and old people who had assembled to protest peacefully against participation in the NAP."

The Communists further accused the "Heimdallur" society of being "the first weapon of the American capitalists in their fight to subjugate the Icelandic laboring classes, trained and paid by Major Ragnar Stefansson of the American OFIC office."

The type of activity referred to above has not been engaged in outside Reykjavik, and it is doubtful whether any similar group has been organized elsewhere in Iceland. There is no evidence available in D/No files to indicate the number of Conservative youth who participated in these security functions although the Communist press accused the Government of establishing a force of 1,000 "white troopers" which figure was used for propaganda purposes and undoubtedly is an exaggeration. The only strength figures available indicate a membership of 2,500 in the Reykjavik Conservative Youth Organization as of October 1948.

The National Chairman of the Young Conservative Federation of youth organizations is Magnus Joneson, a lawyer working in the Ministry

\* "Heimdallur" is the watchman of the Gods, placed on the borders of heaven to prevent the giants from forcing their way over the rainbow bridge, Bifrost; he requires less sleep than a bird and sees by night as well as by day a hundred miles around him. So acute is his ear that no sound escapes him, for he can even hear the grass grow and the wool grow on the sheep's back.

"Heimdallur" sounds the horn to assemble the gods and heroes for the final contest between good and evil; fights Loki, the evil spirit, in which both are destroyed, and the world ends to be re-created in better form.

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of Finance. He succeeded Johann Hafstein, who was not reelected at the National Convention held in Reykjavik in June 1949. (A detailed analysis of the Convention and the resolutions passed is available

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Another individual mentioned in connection with "Heimdallur" is Kjartan Petursson.

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File

Subject:

**D-44**

INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

OFFICE OF RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS

INTELLIGENCE INFORMATION

29 Dec. '49

**D/EE**

from Publications Division, Foreign Planning **REL**

Subject: **Hungarian Politburo**

Statement of Project:

Origin: **Internal**

Problem: **To provide names and relative importance of members of Hungarian Politburo**

Source:

Graphics (if any):

Form: **LL-6**

Draft due in D/Pub: **22 Dec. '49**

Dissemination deadline

**15 Dec. '49**

**22 Dec. '49** **Delivered**

Responsible Division: **D/EE**

Internal Coordination:

Departmental responsibilities:

Classification should be no higher than **Secret**

Recommended disposition: **R.O.**

CONFIDENTIAL

1. Hungary - Politburo

**RESTRICTED**

IP-54

21 December 1949

MEMORANDUM FOR: D/Pub, ORE

ATTENTION :

SUBJECT : Listing of Hungarian Politbureau  
Members

Request that the list of members of the  
Hungarian Politbureau, prepared by D/EE, ORE  
for [REDACTED] be released to this office  
as soon as possible.

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Reference:

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**RESTRICTED**

1P-54

**SECRET**

21 December 1949

**SUBJECT: Hungarian Communist Party Politburo**

The present membership of the Politburo of the Hungarian Communist Party, in order of importance of individual members, is estimated to be as follows:

1. Erno Gero - Chairman, Peoples Economic Council and Minister without Portfolio
2. Matyas Rakosi - Deputy Prime Minister
3. Janos Kadar - Minister of Interior
4. Jozsef Revai - Minister of Peoples Education
5. Mihaly Farkas - Minister of National Defense
6. Andor Berei - Political State Undersecretary in Ministry of Foreign Affairs
7. Istvan Friss - No official government position
8. Istvan Kovacs - Member of Presidium
9. Antal Apro - Secretary General of Trade Union Council; Member of Presidium
10. Karoly Kiss - Vice-President of Presidium (Presidential Council)
11. Marton Horvath - Editor of Szabad Nep (Communist Party official paper)

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**CONFIDENTIAL**

Approved For Release 2000/09/12 : CIA-RDP79T01049A000100060001-0

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR, CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

Subject: **2-95**

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR, CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR, CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

29 Dec. '49

**2/In**

FROM: **2/In**

SUBJECT: **Pan-Europe Movements**

Statement of Project:

Origin: **Internal**

Problem: **To provide evaluation of specified Pan-Europe Movements**

Scope: **The request has been clarified since its submission by direct conversations between requester and D/In. Dates were adjusted in consultation between D/Pub and requester.**

Graphics (if any):

Form: **Memorandum to be prepared by D/In**

Draft due in D/Pub: **a.o.b. 3 Jan. '50**

Dissemination deadline  
(if any):

**a.o.b. 3 Jan '50**

Responsible Division: **D/In to prepare paper**

Internal Coordination:

Departmental responsibilities:

Dissemination: **2/In**

**Secret**

Recommendation: **2/In**

**CONFIDENTIAL**

Approved For Release 2000/09/12 : CIA-RDP79T01049A000100060001-0

**CONFIDENTIAL**

21 December 1949

MEMORANDUM FOR: D/Pub, ORE

25X1A

ATTENTION :

SUBJECT : Evaluation Request

1. An evaluation is requested of the "European Movement" headed by Duncan Sandys and the "Pan Europe" headed by Msgr. Georges Bohey. Specifically desired is a listing of the prominent leaders of each movement, the capabilities, strengths and weaknesses of the two movements; and an estimate, if possible, of the probable chances of success of each movement, in the light of the present organization and capabilities of each.

2. Such information as is available in regard to this request is urgently needed. It is requested that this office be furnished with same as far in advance of 28 December 1949 as is possible.

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*See report*

*Case No.*

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**SECRET**

TO : D/Pub  
FROM : D/In  
SUBJECT : Pan-Europe Movements



IP-55

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENTARY UNION (EPU):

This organization, like 'Pan-Europe' before it, is the creation of Count Richard Nikolaus Coudenhove-Kalergi. From his post as Secretary-General, this ardent and optimistic champion of European federation unquestionably supplies the main impetus behind the EPU. Due largely to Coudenhove's ability to bring in money, the EPU is apparently in a sound financial position.

The EPU has one unique feature - its membership is restricted to members of European parliaments, with the exception, of course, of Coudenhove himself serving as Secretary-General. This peculiarity, which is used by Coudenhove to explain the complete independence of the EPU from other federalist organizations, has advantages and disadvantages for the organization. Potentially, restriction of the EPU to parliamentarians is a source of strength in that this fact can be exploited to lend a semblance of official sanction to the movement, and more important, its members possess a certain degree of political experience and occupy positions where they should be able to bring pressure to bear on their governments. On the other hand, restriction of the EPU to parliamentarians weakens its popular support by limiting the membership sharply, cutting off direct popular support and making the movement appear somewhat remote and academic to the average European.

Since the EPU is so closely linked with Coudenhove personally, consideration of certain of his character traits sheds light on other

(1) It has been assumed that the "Pan-Europe" referred to in the request was intended to be the "European Parliamentary Union" of which Magr. Georges Bohy is president, rather than the older and less active "Pan European Union".

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- 2 -

weaknesses of the organization. Coudenhove's characteristic sanguineness has resulted in a certain oversimplification and abstractness in the EPU's program: the economic side of European unification has not been adequately considered, resolutions have generally been vague, and the very real problem of the transfer of power from sovereign national governments has never been faced.

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An additional handicap for the EPU is the "reactionary stigma" which clings to Coudenhove-Kalergi personally and results in the non-Communist left, (and the Socialists in particular) viewing with suspicion the Count and any movement with which he is associated.

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Perhaps the most serious weakness of the EPU is the narrowness of its national and political base. The composition of the delegations to the first EPU conference in Ostaad, Switzerland in Sep 1947, reveals clearly this weakness. In the first place, the overwhelming majority (71%) of the delegates were French and Italian, with the British having only 3.8% of all delegates. A breakdown of the delegates by party affiliation reveals that 94% of those attending the Ostaad conference were members of conservative groups (from mild to ultra) while only 6% represented the non-Communist left. This predominant conservatism was hardly representative of the populations of the ten European countries which had delegations at Ostaad, and does not indicate that popular support will be widespread.

#### EUROPEAN MOVEMENT:

The European Movement, organized in London in 1947 as the "International Committee for the Movements for European Unity", has Duncan Sandys, Churchill's son-in-law, as chairman of its International Executive. Two immediate apparent strengths of the European Movement are its size and prestige. The Movement is not restricted in its membership as is the

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EPU and is, in fact, the coordinating agency for four federalist organizations: the British and French United Europe Movements, the European Union of Federalists, and the Independent League for European Cooperation. In addition, the Movement has the prestige of such prominent names as Churchill, Spaak, Blum, and de Gasperi.

The European Movement has a broader national and political base than Coudenhove-Kalergi's organization, and a more balanced approach to the political and economic aspects of the European unification problem. The predominance of British conservative leadership in the European Movement is not an attractive element to some federalists, notably continental Socialists, but an attempt has been made to meet this problem by the inclusion of prominent Socialists, Leon Blum and Paul-Henri Spaak among the Movements officers.

It can be concluded from a comparison of the two organizations that the European Movement is to a considerable degree the more dynamic of the two and has the better prospects for success as an effective pressure group.

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- 4 -

PERSONALITIES:

There follows a partial list of prominent leaders of the two organisations:

EPU

Count R.N. Coudenhove-Kalergi  
 Georges Bohy (Belg.)  
 Leon Maccas (Ork.)  
 Paul Reynaud (Fr.)  
 Rene Coty ("")  
 Andre Philip "  
 Andre Noel "  
 Enzo Giacchero (Italy)  
 Guglielmo Giannini "  
 Guido Russo-Perez "  
 Rev. Gordon Lang (UK)  
 Sir Peter MacDonald "  
 Ronald G.W. Mackay "  
 Ernst Boerlin (Swits.)  
 Edouard Ludwig (Austria)  
 Arthur Gilson (Belg.)  
 E.G.M. Reelvink (Neth.)  
 Erik Arrhen (Swed.)

EUROPEAN MOVEMENT:

Winston S. Churchill  
 Paul-Henri Spaak (Belg.)  
 Alcide de Gasperi (Italy)  
 Leon Blum (Fr.)  
 Duncan Sandys (UK)  
 Lord Layton "  
 Sir David Maxwell-Fyfe (UK)  
 Ronald W.G. Mackay "  
 Robert Boothby "  
 Harold MacMillan "  
 Robert Bichet (Fr.)  
 Andre Philip "  
 Pierre-Henri Teitgen (Fr.)  
 Hendrik Brugmans (Neth.)

SI  
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 MAL  
 OK

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Approved For Release 2000/09/12 : CIA-RDP79T01049A000100060001-0

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17-56



MEMORANDUM of information desired on <sup>student</sup> Youth Organizations.

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The following information is desired: ~~from GRT~~

Scope: Non-communist <sup>student</sup> ~~group~~ organizations in non-Iron Curtain

countries (including groups in exile). Included are organizations of national or regional extent, comprising at least several local units; purely local groups are excluded. Included are any organizations which, while not exclusively for students, draw their major part of their membership from that group; student units of established political parties. Any group which has acquired a strong communist co-  
Substance: location in 1949 or 1950 is excluded.

History since 1945

Strength & activities

Organization

(As much of the following as possible; if nothing more than the name is available, even that is of value.)

Leadership

The names, political and religious views, present activities outside the group, and the support which these leaders receive from factions within the group and from persons or organizations outside.

✓ External connections, both national (e.g., political, labor, church), and international.

Activities

Emphasis is upon materials and information readily available; there is a <sup>high</sup> ~~fair~~ degree of urgency in this request, and it is desired that materials be made available to the requester as they are produced in draft form, rather than to await the completion of the entire project.

**SECRET**

Note on conversation regarding OIR support for IP-56.

I went over to OIR at 1130 and saw, first, Mr. Barnard. He referred me to M  
ferred me to Mr. Nimzer of IFI/OIR. We had a very profitable conversation which had this results

(a) They would prepare for us a bibliography of the ten or so studies they have already mad on Communist-oriented youth movements in all countries. [This has been prepared and is ready for us to pick up.]

(b) On the basis of requester's reaction to this, they would consider undertaking a comprehensive, though not necessarily thorough, review of non-Communist groups, which they could begin about 1 February, and which would be geared in its production to the degree of urgency and the time available for the study.

28 April 1950

IP-56

Mrs. Comanduras, IFI, OIR, called to say that they will complete a study on World Assembly of Youth, and possible one or two others, on or about 15 July 1950.



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*File*

Approved For Release 2000/09/12 : CIA-RDP79T01049A000100060001-0

Project: **B-36**

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

OFFICE OF PERSONNEL AND ACTIVITIES

Project Initiation Memorandum

Date: **29 Dec, '49**

To: **D/In**

From: Publications Division, Project Planning

Subject: **Youth Organizations in non-Iron Curtain Countries**

Statement of Project:

Origin: **Internal**

Problem: **To analyze and evaluate student and youth organizations in non-Iron Curtain countries**

Scope: **Organization and history, and connections, as indicated in attached statement, are requested,**

Graphics (if any):

Form: **Memorandum, to be prepared by D/In on basis of contributions from regional divisions**

Draft due in D/Pub: **31 Jan, '50**

Dissemination deadline (if any):

**31 Jan, '50**

Responsible Division: **D/In to prepare final memo**

Internal Coordination: **All regional branches except D/EE to contribute by 30 Jan.**

Departmental responsibilities: **None**

Classification to be no higher than: **Secret**

Recommended Dissemination: **R.O.**

Approved For Release 2000 **SECRET** CIA-RDP79T01049A000100060001-0

1. Youth movements

**SECRET**

*In accordance with D/Pub's verbal requirements,  
it is requested*

21 December 1949

29 Dec 49

MEMORANDUM FOR: D/Pub, ORE

ATTENTION :

[REDACTED]

25X1A

SUBJECT :

Request for information

*the ~~subject~~ strength of*

1. It is requested that ~~this office~~ *D/I/N* be furnished with an analysis and evaluation of the student and youth organizations in non-Iron Curtain countries. This information should include groups in exile.

2. The analysis should include the following:

a. The individual leaders of these organizations and the factions which presently support them -- background information re their political and religious views and present activities.

*both the  
Communist &  
Sub-Communist  
youth  
organizations  
and*

b. Histories of the various organizations, showing their connections with international and other national groups, i.e., other political, labor etc. groups.

3. *This information should be*

*made available to  
D/I/N by 20 Jan 1949*

[REDACTED]

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Reference:

[REDACTED]

25X1A

**SECRET**

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Approved For Release 2000/09/12 : CIA-RDP79T01049A000100060001-0

## ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

**INSTRUCTIONS:** Officer designations (see separate sheet) should be used in the "To" column. Under each comment a line should be drawn across sheet and each comment numbered to correspond with the number in the "To" column. Each officer should initial (check mark insufficient) before further routing. This Record and Routing Sheet should be returned to Registry.

FROM:

ISO

21 December 1949

ACCESSION NO.

DATE RECEIVED IN S. A.

12/22/49

TO	ROOM NO.	DATE		OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS
		RECEIVED	FORWARDED		
1. D/Pub, ORR [REDACTED]	2316 "M"			25X1A	
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					
6.					
7.					
8.					
9.					
10.					
11.					
12.					
13.					
14.					
15.	Approved For Release 2000/09/12 : CIA-RDP79T01049A000100060001-0				

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(1333)

*Signal 1 + 5*  
*(No heading other than this)*

MEMORANDUM of information desired on Youth Organizations.

The following information is desired from OIR:

Scope: Non-communist youth organizations in non-Iron Curtain countries (including groups in exile).

Substance:

History since 1945

Strength

Organization

Leadership

The names, political and religious views, present activities outside the group, and the support which these leaders receive from factions within the group and from persons or organizations outside.

External connections, both national (e.g., political, labor, church), and international.

Emphasis is upon materials and information readily available; there is a fair degree of urgency in this request, and it is desired that materials be made available to the requester as they are produced in draft form, rather than to await the completion of the entire project.

~~TOP SECRET~~ SECRET

Information desired on IP-56

Subject: Youth Organizations

Qualifications of subject

As to type and orientation: *non-Com.* ~~all, including Communist and non-Communist~~

As to distribution: Non-Iron-Curtain countries  
Including any groups in exile.

Information desired:

History since 1945

Strength

Organization

Leadership

Individual leaders

Support for these leaders

Internal (by factions within group)

External (by other organizations)

Political views

Religious views

Present activities outside the group

Connections

National (e.g., political, labor, church)

International

*stress availability*  
*Mid-March - and as available in bits & pieces.*  
*fair copy*

~~TOP SECRET~~ SECRET

TRANSMIT SLIP		
9 January DATE		
TO: IP-56		
BUILDING	ROOM NO.	
REMARKS: List of OIR reports on Communist Youth organizations forwarded to requester in partial fulfillment of [REDACTED] together with suggestion that request be reconsidered in the light of this info, as to leadlines, content, etc. Carbon copy of this list sent to D/M to retain.		
FROM: REL		
BUILDING	ROOM NO.	EXTENSION

FORM NO. 36-8  
SEP 1946

STATINTL

**SECRET**

29 December 1949

1. In accordance with D/Pub's verbal requirements, it is requested that D/In be furnished an analysis and evaluation of the strength of the student and youth organizations in non-Iron Curtain countries. This information should include both the Communist and non-Communist youth organizations and groups in exile.

2. The analysis should include the following:

- a. The individual leaders of these organizations and the factions which presently support them -- background information re their political and religious views and present activities.
- b. Histories of the various organizations, showing their connections with international and other national groups, i.e., other political, labor etc. groups.

~~3. This information should be made available to D/In by 20 January 1950.~~

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COPY NO.

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# The World Assembly of Youth: International Organization of Non-Communist Youth

OIR REPORT NO. 5256

AUGUST 10, 1950

484458

*This is an intelligence report; nothing  
in it is to be construed as a statement  
of US or Departmental policy or as a  
recommendation of any given policy*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
OFFICE OF INTELLIGENCE RESEARCH

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State Dept. declassification & release instructions on file

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(This report is based on material available to IFI as of July 21, 1950.)

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ABSTRACT

The World Assembly of Youth (WAY) was formally constituted in August 1949 at its First Council Meeting in Brussels as an international social welfare youth organization working "...for the true satisfaction of youth's needs and for the fulfillment of youth's responsibilities..." Its present membership is drawn from youth organizations in 50 countries of Western Europe, the Western European colonial territories, Africa, the Near East, Canada and the United States. At the present time, WAY is the only non-Communist youth international whose affiliates are national coordinating youth councils representing the major youth organizations in each country -- religious, political, welfare, etc. It, therefore, offers the only challenge to the Communist-controlled World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) in the non-Communist areas of the world today.

The WAY grew out of two international preparatory conferences held in London during the summers of 1947 and 1948 at the request of leaders of many non-Communist Western youth organizations who found it impossible to work within the Communist WFDY and who desired some permanent form of international cooperation. These conferences were sponsored by the semi-official British National Council of Social Service with the support of the British Foreign Office for the purpose of establishing an effective anti-Communist body in opposition to the WFDY.

Although it is non-Communist, WAY refused to adopt a policy of open opposition to the WFDY and stresses instead a positive program of social reform. Although Way has been under frequent attack by the WFDY as "...an organization in the direct service of the warmongers", WAY prefers not to be "anti" anything and not to engage in polemics. While WAY has invited the WFDY and Eastern European youth organizations to join it and attend its meetings, they have done neither. As a matter of fact, in early 1948, the WFDY cautioned all its affiliates to have nothing whatsoever to do with the WAY.

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During its first year, the WAY elected officers and set up the various administrative organs needed to put the central organization on an operating basis. However, its serious financial difficulties, both nationally and internationally, have not permitted the execution of a vigorous program that would either make WAY'S policies known and executed at the "grass root" level of each of its affiliates, or one that would capture the imagination and enthusiastic support of non-Communist youth. WAY's major accomplishments to date have been the following: 1) the establishment of working relations with UNESCO and the International Labour Office and, particularly, with the UN ECOSOC where it has Consultative Status in Category "B"; 2) publication and wide distribution of a bi-monthly magazine, the WAY FORUM, in French and English; and 3) the completion of preparations for the important Second Council Meeting of the WAY to be held at Istanbul during August 13-20 which will be attended by approximately 250 delegates from 50 countries. Although WAY has sent some of its representatives on field trips to various countries in French West Africa, the Far East, Europe and the Near East for the purpose of developing existing organizations and creating new ones, lack of funds prevented these representatives from staying long enough to accomplish much.

The job of making WAY a "going concern" has largely fallen to the Executive Committee and the Secretariat. The Executive Committee is presently composed of sixteen officers, two-thirds of whom are elected youth representatives and the rest adult advisors. Fifteen of these officers are non-Communists, ranging from Conservative to Socialist and of all religious faiths. The exception, Jean Jousselein of France, is reportedly a fellow-traveller. The Secretariat consists of a paid staff composed of two non-Communist officers and four clerical workers.

The WAY depends upon contributions from its 29 full, voting members for its financial support. But its actual operating expenses to date have been met by donations of the Belgian, French, British, Dutch, Turkish and Gold Coast Committees, three of which (British, French and Turkish) received government

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subsidies for this purpose. Although the total operating WAY Budget for 1949-50 was only \$34,556, the Executive Committee had to address urgent appeals to its affiliates at least twice in order to try to raise even this small sum. The United States Committee has not contributed anything thus far.

WAY's capabilities for checking and counteracting the WFDY in the non-Communist world depend largely on its ability to formulate a program of action that will inspire and stimulate the enthusiastic support of non-Communist youth, particularly, those in the colonial and underdeveloped areas. It is necessary for WAY to establish itself on a sound financial basis, both nationally and internationally, in order to make its program widely known and implemented. The WAY must overcome the feeling of its affiliates, derived from WAY's early organizational stage, that there is still too much adult participation and leadership in the organization. If it is successful in these matters, as well as in preventing Communist penetration, the WAY then has a very good chance of offering the WFDY serious rivalry in its role of "championing the rights of world youth and particularly colonial youth". WAY's capabilities are better, however, in Africa and Latin America rather than in the Middle and Far East where the WFDY has established itself rather firmly by supporting the fight of colonial youth for "national liberation".

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THE WORLD ASSEMBLY OF YOUTH: INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION  
OF NON-COMMUNIST YOUTH

I. INTRODUCTION

The World Assembly of Youth (WAY) is the only non-Communist youth international that acts as a roof organization for all types of youth organizations - political, religious, welfare, etc. Its membership is drawn from national youth bodies in 50 countries extending throughout Western Europe, the Western European colonial territories, Africa, the Near East, Canada, and the United States.

The WAY was formally constituted in August 1949 at Brussels to provide a permanent form of international cooperation for non-Communist youth organizations that found it impossible to work within the Communist-controlled World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY).<sup>1</sup> It grew out of two international preparatory conferences held in London during the summers of 1947 and 1948 at the request of leaders of many of the non-Communist Western youth organizations and was sponsored by the British National Council of Social Service (NCSS) -- a semi-official confederation of social welfare groups -- with the support of the British Foreign Office. Under the guise of creating an international social welfare youth organization, the sponsors hoped to establish an effective anti-Communist body in opposition to the WFDY.<sup>2</sup>

II. HISTORY

A. The 1947 Conference

In July 1947 the NCSS of Great Britain sponsored an informal meeting at Canterbury Hall, London, which was attended by about 50 leaders of national youth organizations of many different religious, social and political tendencies from Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Great Britain, the Netherlands, New Zealand,

---

1. For an analysis of the history, organization, present status, activities and future prospects of the WFDY, see OIR Report No. 4507.1: The WFDY, The Central Organization, Opposing Groups and Affiliates, April 1, 1948, SECRET; and OIR Report No. 4909R.1: The Potentials of World Communism: International Organizations, Part III, The WFDY, February 15, 1950, CONFIDENTIAL.

2. Work and Leisure (Official report of the International Youth Conference, London, August 1948), published by the NCSS in April 1949, pp. 15-19; [REDACTED]

CONFIDENTIAL.

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South Africa and the United States.<sup>1</sup> The Conference decided;<sup>2</sup>

1. To provide opportunities for young people from many countries to discuss together the problems of youth and to study ways of meeting their needs in the social, economic, health and cultural spheres.

2. To promote a wide agreement between the different ideological, cultural, religious and political movements for the solution of real and precise problems confronting young people in many parts of the world, and thus to cooperate by every possible means in the efforts towards the establishment of world peace which the United Nations is making on a larger scale.

Accordingly, the conference unanimously decided that the NCSS, together with an International Advisory Committee of representatives of five Western European youth organizations, should convene a more representative international youth conference in the summer of 1948 to discuss the important questions raised. It further decided that national youth organizations of all the member countries of the United Nations, as well as observers from UN ECOSOC, UNESCO, etc., should be invited to attend.<sup>3</sup>

B. The 1948 International Youth Conference

The second conference, known as the International Youth Conference, was held in London at Church House, Westminster during August 12-19, 1948 and was attended by 400 delegates from 25 nations in five continents as well as observers from three other countries, fifteen world movements and four inter-governmental organizations.<sup>4</sup>

1. Enclosure No. 4 to D-863, Brussels, June 26, 1950, CONFIDENTIAL; Work and Leisure, p. 15; and T-6243, London, November 28, 1947, CONFIDENTIAL.

4. Official Leaflet of the WAY entitled WAY, dated November 3, 1949; Work and Leisure, p. 5; World Assembly of Youth, A Statement by the British National Committee (an official booklet published by the NCSS in February 1950), p. 4; These delegates and observers reportedly represented the broad tendencies of almost every type of social, religious, educational and political youth organization.

Note: Although the delegates and observers were made a token charge of £ each, which included the conference fee, room and board, tours and social events, the British Government bore the real cost of the Conference, amounting to some £16,000. Work and Leisure, p. 21; D-2318, London, November 23, 1948, CONFIDENTIAL, p. 1.

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While the broad, general theme of the Conference was "Work and Leisure, Youth's Opportunities and Responsibilities" and was discussed in plenary session and studied by the ten working commissions, the real work of the Conference dealt with the creation of the machinery for building a permanent democratic youth organization. The Conference finally agreed to:

1. Establish an appropriate organization to continue its work;
2. Accept in principle the Draft Charter prepared by its Continuation Committee;
3. Set up as quickly as possible a Provisional Council, composed of not more than four members from each nation represented at or invited to the Conference, to:
  - (a) prepare and circulate a report of the Conference; (b) receive ratifications; and (c) call the first council meeting or constitutional convention of the organization during the following summer; and
4. To request the Secretariat of the NCSS, along with the Directing Committee, to continue to act until the Provisional Council was set up.<sup>1</sup>

While the American delegates reportedly considered the Conference a success and desired to do everything possible to make the new organization an effective one,<sup>2</sup> they were nevertheless disappointed in the Conference as a whole for the following reasons.

1. The Conference was packed with adults, despite instructions in the official invitation that at least two-thirds of each delegation should be composed of young people between the ages of 18-30. Young people in the various delegations were in a minority, and some sent only adults. Many national delegations, particularly the Central European ones, felt that young people were not capable of self-government and, therefore, delegated leadership to adults.<sup>3</sup> As a result, there was a real

1. Work and Leisure, pp. 72-80.

2. Embassy London, in D-2318, November 23, 1948, CONFIDENTIAL, commended the high caliber of the American delegation and stated that not only was it very favorably regarded by everyone but that the American and Canadian delegations also contributed more to the Conference than any of the others. Eager to accomplish something constructive and well experienced in organizational work, they kept the discussions from being hopelessly sidetracked many times. The Embassy further stated that the American delegation's impatience with what it regarded as adult domination of other delegations had a salutary influence on the whole and resulted in its being more highly respected by other delegations who saw they actually "practiced what they preached" and did it well.

3. Memorandum from IEP-Francis J. Colligan to Messrs. Johnstone, Schneider and MacKnight, OEX, POS and P, respectively, dated September 30, 1948, p. 2. SECRET; Report of the International Youth Conference by American delegates John C. Langley and Herman Neusch to the National Catholic Welfare Conference (NCWC), [NCWC files.]

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danger during the first few days that the Conference might evolve into little more than an international youth-servicing organization and, consequently, would not be particularly appealing to youth. However, the American delegation's fight for youth representation at all levels, in plenary sessions, commissions and committee meetings, had a salutary effect on the Conference as a whole and resulted in the provision that three-fourths of the provisional council should be composed of youth.<sup>1</sup>

2. The Conference was virtually controlled by the Central Directing Committee (a small group of adults whose average age was reputed to be about 50 or 60) which was composed of representatives of the NCSS and the International Advisory Committee that organized the Conference. This Committee permitted little flexibility in the proceedings and steered them along predetermined lines.<sup>2</sup>

3. The European parliamentary procedural system used, which gives the chairman wide and unilateral powers, also caused a great deal of confusion and bad feelings among the American delegation who felt that, in the future, the American position regarding certain procedural rules should be clarified at the outset.<sup>3</sup>

The Conference attempted to avoid being considered an anti-Communist rival movement to the WFDY; (a) by inviting the WFDY and the East European national youth organizations to attend;<sup>4</sup> (b) by adopting the official attitude, embodied in the Preamble to the Draft Charter, that "the intention is not to initiate any world organization which would conflict with the authority or prestige of existing international bodies, but rather to provide the means for existing youth organizations [i.e. national coordinating committees] to cooperate more effectively in the service of youth;<sup>5</sup> and (c) by quashing a resolution purportedly proposed

1. Report of the International Youth Conference by American delegate, Richard Murphy to the NCWC, p. 2 [NCWC files.]
2. Report of the International Youth Conference by Langley and Neusch op. cit., p. 3; February 1949, p. 2, CONFIDENTIAL; Memorandum from IEP-Francis Colligan dated September 30, 1949, op. cit., SECRET.
3. Report of the International Youth Conference by Langley and Neusch, op. cit., p. 3; Minutes of the September 21, 1948, Young Adult Council (YAC) meeting, op. cit., p. 11.
4. Official Minutes of the September 21, 1948 YAC Meeting, p. 9, op. cit. [Note: In February 1948 the WFDY Executive Committee passed a resolution condemning the Conference as "an act of hostility to the Federation calculated to weaken and scatter the forces of democratic youth" and called upon all its affiliates to boycott this "reactionary" conference, "inspired by Anglo-American imperialists, FBIS Daily Report, (Europe), March 18, 1948, p. CC-9. As a result, neither the WFDY nor any of its affiliates in Communist-controlled countries attended.]
5. Work and Leisure, p. 80.

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by the Americans and the Canadians that stated the new organization was being formed because the WFDY had betrayed its trust by not fulfilling its originally stated purposes.<sup>1</sup>

Despite the fact that the new body was really envisaged by its London sponsors as a counter movement to the WFDY, the Conference recommended an "open door policy" since some of the delegations, particularly the French, Belgian and Dutch, included representatives of some leftist groups still affiliated with the WFDY and, therefore, did not want to offend them by a platform that might make it impossible for them or others to switch over to the new organization.<sup>2</sup> Also, many of the delegates, especially the French, were afraid to endanger their own safety and security in the future by opposing the WFDY.<sup>3</sup> Finally, most of the delegates had some vague hope that by avoiding friction, they might someday be able to cooperate with the WFDY if and when the East and West worked out some sort of modus vivendi.<sup>4</sup>

It is reported that the British Foreign Office and the Ministry of Education were disappointed that the Conference did not oppose the WFDY more vigorously and that they were surprised at the exclusion of Spain, a demand insisted on by the Scandinavian countries and Iceland. Thus, the Paris Herald Tribune remarked that a new youth organization had been established that "left the door open to Communism but closed to Fascism".<sup>5</sup>

### C. The Provisional Council Meeting

The Provisional Council, composed of delegates from 28 countries, three-fourths of whom were under thirty-five years of age, met at Ashridge College,

1. Official Minutes of the September 21, 1948 YAC Meeting, p. 12; SECRET Memorandum dated October 27, 1948 from a Departmental field representative.
2. Confidential Recommendations for the U.S.A. Delegation at the International Youth Conference, p. 2. /Note: According to a report by American Catholic delegate Richard Murphy, the Conference was definitely to the right; that of the 28 national delegations present, 17 were led by Catholics; that only the Egyptian delegate was an admitted Communist although many of the delegates, as well as the British Foreign Office and Ministry of Education, distrusted the French group led by M. Jean Jouselin.<sup>7</sup>
3. Report on the International Youth Conference by American delegate Richard Murphy, pp. 1-2, op. cit.; SECRET Memorandum dated October 27, 1948 from a Departmental field representative. /Note: Embassy London felt that the French delegation's attitude reflected the political situation in France rather than any Communist or fellow-traveling inclinations of the members, /D-2318, London, November 23, 1948, CONFIDENTIAL.
4. Ibid.
5. Richard Murphy's report op. cit., p. 2.

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England, from February 14-18, 1949 to execute the resolutions of the 1948 Conference. The Council approved for publication in French and English a full, documentary report of the 1948 London Conference, plus an appended report of this meeting. It rewrote the Draft Charter, embodying the suggested changes of broad principles agreed upon at the 1948 Conference; set the date for the first official meeting of the full Council of the WAY (August 1-7, Brussels, Belgium); and outlined the general purposes and agenda of the meeting. Unlike the 1948 Conference, there was real youth leadership and participation at this meeting. The delegations, most of which were led by young people under 30, were composed of more young people than the three-fourths required by the Draft Charter.<sup>1</sup>

#### D. First Council Meeting of the WAY

The WAY was formally constituted at its First Council Meeting held at Brussels, Belgium, August 1-7, 1949 at the invitation of the Belgian National Youth Council. This meeting was attended by 160 representatives (the majority of whom were under 30 years of age or under) from national coordinating councils of 37 nations and by observers from the UN ECOSOC, UNESCO, the I.L.O. and from 12 international youth movements.<sup>2</sup>

At this time twenty-nine member countries ratified the Charter of the WAY.<sup>3</sup>

1. Work and Leisure, pp. 85-90; Report on the Provisional Council Meeting of the WAY by Arnulf M. Pins, Elected YAC Delegate, pp. 2-5.
2. Impetus (Official bi-monthly publication of UNESCO's Department of Reconstruction), Vol. III, No. 10-11, October-November 1949, p. 22; Official Report of the NSWA dated October 13, 1949, entitled Brief Summary First WAY Council Meeting, p. 1. /Note: Embassy Brussels (D-630, October 26, 1949, UNCLASSIFIED) reports that all religious and political groups except those of the extreme left were represented; The British National Committee in an official pamphlet entitled WAY: A Statement by the British National Committee reported that "a marked feature of this meeting was the strong representation from non-self-governing territories"; and a non-Communist Canadian divinity student reported that "although there were quite a number of very independent and effective reformers among the colonial delegates...a large number of the colonial representatives were colonial officers or under pressure from colonial offices."
3. See Part I of the "Appendix A - List of Participating Organizations in the WAY" for the names of these Charter Members.

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elected officers of the Executive Committee, appointed a Secretariat,<sup>1</sup>  
 established 15 Rue d'Arlon, Brussels as the seat of the WAY Headquarters,  
 agreed to hold the first meeting of the full Assembly in 1951, and formu-  
 lated the following program for the organization's first years's work:<sup>2</sup>

1. To foster the development of youth movements and the creation of coordinating committees in all countries. This task will be fulfilled by the members of the Executive Committee and the Secretariat through inquiries and through contacts with the youth and youth movements of different countries.

2. To set up a Center of Information and Documentation on all youth problems . . . which will enable WAY to provide young people with full and accurate information on all their major problems.

3. To make a survey of the national and international organizations and institutions concerned with travel for young people for purposes of work, study or leisure. To circulate information about the existing facilities. To assist the setting up and expansion of travel and exchange organizations, both private and public. To promote all attempts to stimulate real and close contacts between young people of different countries.

4. To initiate campaigns to secure improved living conditions for young people, such as the extension of compulsory education to all colonial dependencies and the raising of the school-leaving age to 15 years at least, the introduction of genuine vocational training and proper apprenticeship. The admission of young people to positions of responsibility in the trade unions, and the representation of young people in workers' organizations and similar bodies.

5. To enable young people to take the initiative and accept responsibility for their own concerns and to uphold their rights wherever they may be ignored.

6. To work effectively for Peace, worthy of the name, by overcoming prejudice and injustice.

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1. See Appendix B for names, titles and background information on the Executive Committee officers and the two officers of the Secretariat, the Secretary General and Assistant Secretary General. (Note: The Secretariat, besides the aforementioned two officers, is staffed by a secretary, two shorthand typists and a typist, all of whom have bi-lingual knowledge of French and English, the two official languages of the WAY, Official Minutes of the WAY Executive Committee Meeting, October 28-30, 1949, held at the Brussels headquarters.)
  2. Official Report of the WAY First Meeting of the Council, op. cit., pp. 11, 23-90. For a discussion of the organization of the WAY, see pp. 11-16, below.

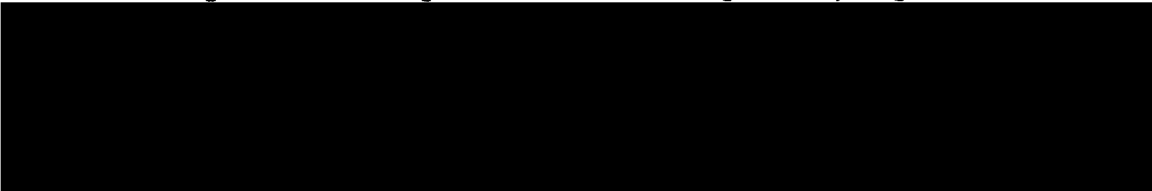
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Apart from organizational matters, the Council Meeting dealt with the general theme of "Work: Rural and Urban," paying particular attention to working conditions in overseas territories. Remy Montagne, the French Catholic delegate, introduced the theme by stating that the WAY was founded "in order to study the living conditions of young people and to work for their improvement." Four commissions studied the following aspects of the subject: (1) conditions and hours of work; (2) wages; (3) unemployment; and (4) the responsibilities of young workers in their various occupations and in relation to their economic situations; on which they made reports and recommended social reforms.<sup>1</sup> It appears, however, that many of the delegations, the Scandinavian in particular, were disturbed by resolutions calling for improvement of labor conditions in colonial countries and even threatened to leave the conference if they were adopted. As a result, the resolutions were not passed.<sup>2</sup> Although there appeared to be some differences of opinion as to WAY's policy toward social reform, most of the members reportedly felt that its policy should be one of studying the problems in educational-research programs and of working for their reform politically.<sup>3</sup>

The position taken by the majority of the WAY delegates at this meeting largely reflects WAY's present policy toward the WFDY. Although some minority groups favored policies ranging from cautious friendliness to belligerent opposition, the majority preferred to stress WAY's positive

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1. Official Report of the WAY First Meeting of the Council, op. cit., pp. 15-21 and 41-55. Examples of some of the social reforms recommended by these four commissions are: the abolition of racial discrimination, the availability of vocational guidance, education and employment to all young people, equal pay for equal work for young people and adults, and the institution in all countries, and particularly the dependent ones, of social legislation taking into account the rights of young workers.
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program of social reform rather than a negative one of opposition to the WFDY. They felt that the organization should be apolitical and not "anti" anything and that it should be open to all who wished to cooperate and who could fulfill membership criteria.<sup>1</sup> Technically, national coordinating bodies from Communist-controlled countries could become members. However, while these organizations, as well as the WFDY, were invited to attend this meeting, they did not do so.

As a result of the majority stand at this meeting, an officer of the British Foreign Office observed that while the Foreign Office had hoped WAY might become the source of strength for Western youth that the WFDY is for Eastern youth, it now appeared that WAY's strength might be in the social field, where it could render real service, rather than in the political field.<sup>2</sup>

Unlike the 1948 London Conference, there was real youth participation and real youth leadership at this Meeting. The majority of the delegates were young people under thirty years of age, and they appeared to have more autonomy from their adult advisers than in the past. However, it does not appear that the Meeting was as successful as desired in capturing their enthusiasm.<sup>3</sup>

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1. A non-Communist Canadian delegate's report of this meeting states: (1) there has been a minority group in the WAY from the beginning opposed to a strong anti-Communist or anti-WFDY orientation; (2) that another small minority desires eventual close cooperation between WAY and the WFDY but first wishes to strengthen WAY so that this contact may be between equals and not mean either the absorption or elimination of one; and (3) another small group seeks to make WAY a vigorous opponent of WFDY and Communism, [REDACTED]

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2. CONFIDENTIAL Memorandum from a departmental field representative Paris, August 22, 1949, p. 1.

3. [REDACTED]

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III. PRESENT STATUSA. Membership

At the present time the WAY draws its membership strength from youth organizations in 50 countries, in Western Europe, the Western European colonial territories, the Near East, Africa, the United States and Canada.<sup>1</sup>

"National Consultative Committees"<sup>2</sup> in 29 countries are "Ordinary" or full voting Members and are proportionally represented in the Assembly by from 15-25 delegates and in the Council by four delegates. Colonial and dependent areas have equal voting rights. The Council, by a simple majority vote, may accept as an Ordinary Member any National Consultative Committee or, by a two-thirds majority vote, may terminate the membership of any organization which it feels has failed to carry out the provisions of the Charter.

Youth organizations in 21 other countries are "Observer" Members with the right of participating at WAY meetings but not of voting. These organizations are not yet qualified for full membership either because they have no coordinating committees or because such committees have been established too recently to be able to assume all responsibilities.

Three world youth organizations are "Associate" Members with the same right of participation but not of voting as the "Observer" Members.

Nine world youth movements are represented at organizational meetings by observers but are not formally affiliated in any way with the organization.<sup>3</sup>

There is no provision for membership of individual persons or organizations except through National Committees.

1. See Appendix A entitled List of Participating Organizations.

2. According to the Charter of the Way, "National Consultative Committees" consist of "two or more national voluntary organizations which represent main tendencies of youth in that country, either meeting for the purpose of consultation and/or consideration of their activities, or meeting only for the purpose of choosing a joint delegation for meetings of the WAY."

A "national voluntary youth organization" is "one which organizes young people for broad educational purposes, subject to the following conditions: (a) the organization is active throughout the country and has its own national headquarters; (b) membership is voluntary; (c) organization is free to affiliate to other organizations; (d) the organization is self-governing and affords full opportunity to all its members to exercise initiative and to take part in the leadership of the organization; and (e) the majority of its members are under 35 years of age."

3. See Appendix A for the names of these organizations.

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B. Organization

The WAY's organizational structure, according to the terms of the Charter, consists of an Assembly, a Council and an Executive Committee. Supreme power is vested in the General Assembly which should meet once every three years and should be composed of delegations from all its member countries.<sup>1</sup> The duties of the General Assembly are to formulate the broad policies of the organization, instruct the Council and review its activities. However, the WAY has not operated long enough for the General Assembly to have met. As a result, the Council -- the supreme legal body in the period between Assemblies -- actually formulated WAY's broad program without instruction or review by the higher body. The Council -- the supreme legal body in the period between Assemblies -- meets once a year, is composed of four delegates from each member country,<sup>2</sup> and is responsible for the direction and administration of the WAY. It formulates details of policy, calls conferences, executes the the Assembly's instructions, appoints the Honorary Officers (Chairman, two Vice Chairmen and Treasurer) and the Secretariat, elects the Executive Committee and is responsible for financing the work of the organization. The Executive Committee meets when called by the Chairman, or at the request of one-half of its members, and should consist of the four Honorary Officers plus thirteen other members.<sup>3</sup> It

1. Article V, sections (c) and (d) of the WAY Charter provide: "Each Ordinary (i.e., full, voting) Member of the Organization may appoint up to 15 delegates to the Assembly. Ordinary Members from countries whose population exceeds 10 millions may appoint one additional delegate for each additional 10 millions or fraction thereof, up to a maximum of 25 delegates. At least 2/3rds of these delegates shall be elected representatives of youth organizations and shall be under the age of 35... Each delegation shall have one vote on resolutions concerning questions of organization, administration and finance... [Note: The first meeting of the General Assembly is scheduled tentatively for the summer of 1952. See p. of this report for further information.]
2. Article VI, section (b) of the WAY Charter provides that "more than one-half of the delegates must be elected representatives of youth organizations ..."
3. Article VII, section (b) of the WAY Charter provides that "at least 2/3rds of the members of the Committee shall be elected representatives of youth organizations and not more than two members may be drawn from any one National Consultative Committee..." [Note: The Executive Committee has held three meetings thus far: Brussels, October 28-30, 1949; Amsterdam, Jan. 6-8, 1950; and Florence, May 5-7, 1950. Its next meeting will be held at Istanbul from August 9-11, immediately preceding the Council meeting.]

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is responsible to the Council for the detailed management, administration and normal functioning of the organization and of executing the Council's decisions.<sup>1</sup> The day-to-day work is carried out by the Secretariat.

The actual work of making the WAY a "going concern" has fallen to the Executive Committee, the Secretariat and to the four Standing Commissions created by the Executive Committee.

#### 1. The Executive Committee

The Executive Committee is composed of sixteen officers, and two-thirds of its members are elected representatives of youth organizations. Fifteen officers are non-Communists, ranging from Conservative to Socialist and of all religious faiths. The remaining member, Jean Jousselein of France, is reported to be a fellow traveller.<sup>2</sup> No substitution of officers is permitted except, when absolutely necessary, by a "deputy" with speaking but non-voting rights. Any member absent without permission from two consecutive meetings is considered to have resigned.<sup>3</sup>

The Executive Committee has attempted to discharge its duties by transforming the newly-created WAY into an effective, well organized body capable of executing the following program for the first year:<sup>4</sup>

1. To encourage the extension and development of National Committees and regional conferences in order to spread the spirit of cooperation and understanding, to give young people tools to better working conditions and to solve their problems.

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1. The WAY Charter, Articles V-VII,; Enclosure No. 1 to D-863, Brussels, June 26, 1950, Conference.
  2. See Appendix B - Biographic Sketches of WAY Executive Committee Officers. [Note: The Charter calls for seventeen members, but no explanation has been given for the election of only sixteen.]
  3. Official Minutes of the WAY Executive Committee Meeting, October 28-30, 1949, Brussels, p. 18.
  4. Ibid., pp. 10-21. [Note: While the first Council meeting had decided on a program and on the creation of these Commissions, it remained for the Executive Committee to tailor the program to the present needs and capabilities of the WAY and to formulate rules governing the composition, role and procedure of the four Commissions and to designate the "nuclear" officers.]

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2. To sponsor and spread information on international travel and exchange, particularly in Africa, Asia and South America.

3. To gather and disseminate information about national committees and actual activities of youth throughout the world.

4. To bring to the attention of appropriate agencies the real needs of young people, and those of dependent countries, urging them to take action, help and support them, in all ways possible.

Of necessity, therefore, the three meetings held by the Executive Committee thus far have dealt almost exclusively with administrative and organizational matters.<sup>1</sup>

The Committee referred its program to the four Standing Commissions for study and recommendation and generally empowered the Secretariat to implement its various administrative decisions.

## 2. The Secretariat

The day-to-day work of the WAY has been carried on in the Brussels Headquarters by the Secretariat consisting of a paid four-man staff led by two non-Communists: Secretary General F. P. Mercereau (France) and Assistant Secretary General Miss Helen Dale (UK).<sup>2</sup> This small group, empowered by the Executive Committee, has attempted to implement the organization's program. It has kept in close contact with all Member National Committees by furnishing them with periodic Circulars of the Secretariat advising them on important administrative and organizational matters; by transmitting reports of the meetings of the Executive Committee and of the four Standing Commissions; by gathering information about National Committees and their activities for the central files; by collecting and disseminating necessary information and materials and arranging for publicity for future events; and by publishing

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1. See footnote 3, p. 11 of this report for the dates of these Executive Committee meetings.

2. See footnote 1, p. 7 supra and Appendix B for sketches of the two officers.

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and distributing (with the help of the Information and the Development Commissions) its bi-monthly information bulletin, WAY Forum, to all National Committees, youth movements and organizations interested in youth questions.<sup>1</sup>

### 3. The Standing Commissions

The four Standing Commissions of the WAY noted below were created by the Executive Committee at its first meeting last August in order to provide effective liaison between the Member National Committees and the Secretariat<sup>2</sup> and to associate the greatest possible number of Committees with the work of WAY. These Commissions are consultative bodies with no powers of decision whose plans and reports must be approved by the Executive Committee. The Commissions consist of a "nucleus" of 3-5 officers (except for the Development Commission which has 7), appointed by the Executive Committee but not necessarily from among its own members, and of corresponding members nominated by each of the 29 member National Committees. While most of the work of these Commissions is carried out by exchanges of correspondence, the officers of these Commissions have met at least twice thus far in order to report to the Executive Committee on the proposals received from the various Members and to recommend courses of action. Plenary sessions of these Commissions will be

1. WAY Circulars Nos. 1-26, published by the Secretariat and distributed to all the National Committees and the Members of the Executive Committee and the four Standing Commissions (hereinafter called WAY Circular). Note: Since the work of the Secretariat is increasing daily, it is planned to expand it considerably in the future and to divide the work of the Secretariat into the following four departments: (1) A department in charge of all internal work of WAY and relations with the different countries, with international and specialized agencies, etc.; (2) A technical department which will include the Travel and Information Centre; (3) Publications and Publicity Service; and (4) An administrative department which would deal with the receipt and despatch of mail and the circulation of all documents as well as the service of interpretation in four languages -- English, French, German and Spanish, World Assembly of Youth, Statement by the Secretariat, Part II. 7
2. WAY: A Statement by the British National Committee, op. cit., p. 9, indicating the Council's decision last August to set up such Commissions for this purpose. Note: WAY Circular No. 4, Part I states " ...In the interval between meetings of the Commissions, it will be for the Secretariat to ensure the necessary liaison..." 7

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held during the Second Council Meeting of the WAY at Istanbul.

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The purpose and officers of these Commissions are described below:

a. The Commission of Documentation and Information

Object: This Committee has a mandate to organize documentation and information on the day-to-day problems of young people. It shall study the best methods of collecting the existing documentation and adapting it to the needs of WAY.

Officers: Mlle. Arnould (Belgium), Mr. Hayhoe (UK), Mr. Keegan (UK), Mr. Montagne (France), Mr. Wood (USA).

Convenor: Mr. Montagne.

b. The Commission of Development

Object: This Committee is responsible for the development of Member National Committees, both in number and quality. It shall in particular seek to make WAY known in countries which have as yet no National Committees. It shall endeavor to encourage the organization of conferences on a national or regional scale, whose aim shall be to specify the objectives of WAY and to encourage the youth movements -- or where there are none, the youth -- of all countries to take up the campaign for their own interests.

Officers: Mr. Annan (Gold Coast), Mr. Guu (Viet Nam), Mr. Jousselein (France), Mr. Keegan (UK), Mr. Kreveld (Belgium), Mr. Lawrence (Guinea), Mr. Pins (US).

Convenor: Mr. Keegan.

c. Travel and Exchange Commission

Object: This Committee shall assist the work being done by the exchange service of different countries and by the international specialized agencies. It shall lend its support to those organizations applying to it for help in opening international camps or caravans for young people, not only in Europe and North America but also in the East, in Africa and in South America. It shall promote plans to welcome students and workmen from other lands. It shall undertake the preparatory work for the setting up of the travel bureau envisaged by the earlier conferences.

Officers: Mr. Allier (France), Mr. Cowle (UK), Miss Frith (UK), Mr. Larsen (Denmark), Miss Welton (UK).

Convenor: Miss Welton.

1. WAY Circular, No. 4, Parts I, II, and VII, and the National Committees are requested to appoint their corresponding members to the first three Committees (not the Administrative one), to submit the names and addresses of these persons to the Secretariat, and also to submit to the Secretariat any questions which they would wish to have referred to the Committees for study.
2. Ibid., Part III.

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d. Administrative Commission

Object: The Administrative Committee is responsible for the study of finance, administration, procedure and organization.

In view of the special purpose of this Committee, its members are chosen exclusively from Executive Committee Members: Mr. Jousselin (France), Mr. Keegan (UK), Mr. Lawrence (Guinea), Miss Vendrik (Netherlands), Mr. Mercereau (France) as Convenor, and Mr. Tascioglu (Turkey) have been appointed to the Committee, and Mr. Haynes (WCSS Advisor to the Executive Committee) and the Honorary Officers are members ex-officio.

At the request of the Executive Committee, these Commissions have been undertaking much of the preparatory work for the Second Council Meeting in August. It should be noted that at the last meeting of the Executive Committee in Florence (May 5-7, 1950) it was agreed that the Chairmen of these Commissions would be invited to all future meetings of the Committee in order to provide for better liaison with the Commissions.<sup>1</sup>

C. Finances

The WAY depends largely upon contributions from its twenty-nine Member National Committees for financial support. Some of these Committees receive government subsidies for their contributions, and the others derive their contributions almost entirely from voluntary funds.<sup>2</sup>

The organization has been in serious financial straits from the beginning. Embassy Brussels reports that its financial problems, unless corrected, represent a "real hindrance to a vigorous future for WAY."<sup>3</sup> Although the total operating 1949-50 WAY Budget was a mere \$34,556,<sup>4</sup> the Executive Committee and the Secretariat had to address urgent appeals to their affiliates

1. Official Minutes of the WAY Executive Committee Meeting, Florence, May 5-7, 1950, section 84.
2. Official nine-page mimeographed report, entitled World Assembly of Youth, pp. 4-5. [Note: The Council has not yet fixed the amount each National Committee should contribute annually, but it is believed it will do so at its Istanbul meeting this August. The total of such assessments is expected to be sufficient to cover estimated operating expenses for the WAY for the 1950-51 period. According to WAY Circular No. 5, "Associate" and "Observer" Members are not constitutionally required to pay annual dues, although gifts and voluntary contributions are invited.]
3. D-863, Brussels, June 26, 1950, p. 2, CONFIDENTIAL.
4. Ibid.

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on at least two occasions in order to try to collect even this small sum.<sup>1</sup>

Operating expenses of the WAY have thus far been by donations of the Belgian, French, British, Dutch, Turkish and Gold Coast Committees, three of which (British, French and Turkish) received grants from their Ministries of Education for this purpose.<sup>2</sup> The United States Committee has contributed nothing thus far. An examination of all available data indicates that unless greatly increased financial assistance is forthcoming this year, WAY will not be able to carry out important parts of its program, such as the publication of the WAY Forum, official bulletins and pamphlets; the setting up of an Information Centre and a Travel Bureau; and the development of WAY affiliates in the Middle East, South America, Africa and the Far East.<sup>3</sup>

WAY's over-all effectiveness on an international level is further limited by financial difficulties of its affiliates. The Young Adult Council (YAC), the American affiliate of WAY, for example, has operated on such an unsound financial basis that it has never known whether it would be able to raise the necessary funds to send its allotted number of representatives to meetings of the WAY. In addition, it has not had the money needed to familiarize all its national affiliates adequately with the work of the WAY

1. Official Minutes of the WAY Executive Committee Meeting, October 28-30, 1949, Brussels; WAY Circular No. 5.
2. Official nine-page report: World Assembly of Youth, pp. 4-5, op. cit.; SECRET Memorandum from a departmental field representative dated June 14, 1950, re U.S. Participation in the WAY. [Note: CONFIDENTIAL Memorandum, Paris, August 22, 1949, op. cit., p. 3 notes that at the Brussels Council meeting (August 1949) the British and French affiliates both promised about \$6,500 (2,000) each and the Canadian affiliate \$1,500. The Executive Committee at its October 1949 meeting reported that the WAY had been operating on a \$5,000 contribution from the Belgian Youth Council; and a CONFIDENTIAL Memorandum from a departmental field representative dated February 1, 1950, p. 3, states WAY was presently operating on French funds sent in regularly each month and that the British and Canadian Committees had not yet sent in their money.]
3. An official report: World Assembly of Youth: Statement by the Secretariat, pp. 3-6, indicates that over \$30,000 alone would be needed for these projects. For example, an additional \$4,000 is needed by the Information Center if it is to meet actual and potential demands. An additional \$13,000 is needed to execute its extensive program for developing affiliates in the Middle East, South America and the Far East by sending WAY representatives to these areas for a sufficiently long period to develop such youth movements. Several countries in these areas have requested WAY to do so. An additional \$5,000 is needed to publish the WAY Forum in German and Spanish as well as French and English. \$600 is required for the publication of the Directory of Youth Organizations, and \$850 is needed for the publication of a monthly press bulletin in four languages for submission to 3,600 newspapers and press agencies, etc.

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and thus to secure "grass root" level cooperation in executing WAY's program. The YAC has been trying to obtain public or private grants as it considers participation on its present basis impossible.<sup>1</sup> It is estimated that about \$25,000 to \$40,000 annually would be needed for meaningful YAC participation in the WAY.<sup>2</sup>

#### D. Activities

In addition to its organizational activities, the WAY has attempted to execute its first year's program in the following ways:<sup>3</sup>

1. By sending WAY representatives on field visits to various countries in French West Africa, in the Far East, in Europe and the Near East in order to help them develop existing organizations and to create new ones.<sup>4</sup>

2. By establishing an Information Centre. Despite very inadequate means and with only volunteer help, this Centre has begun collecting data on (a) national committees and national youth organizations, (b) youth problems and needs, and (c) conditions of work and education among young people.<sup>5</sup>

3. By publishing a report of the Brussels Council Meeting; by publishing numerous information Circulars on the day-to-day work of the WAY for the National Committees; by publishing in French and English a bi-monthly magazine, WAY Forum, for wide distribution; and by working on a Directory of Youth Organizations.<sup>6</sup>

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1. SECRET Memorandum from a departmental field representative dated June 14, 1950 re U.S. Participation in the WAY; *ibid.*, July 19, 1950, pp. 1-3, SECRET.
  2. Statement made in a speech by YAC delegate Arnulf Pins, CONFIDENTIAL Memorandum from a departmental field representative dated November 4, 1949, p. 4.
  3. See Part III, Section B-1 of this report for a discussion of WAY's program.
  4. WAY Forum Nos. 1 and 2, April and June 1950, pp. 13 and 15, respectively. For example, Mr. Lawrence (Guinea) visited various countries in French West Africa during April; Mr. Cuu (Viet Nam) visited several countries in the Far East; Secretary General Mercereau (France) visited National Committees in Athens, Rome and Paris; Mr. Neusch (USA) is to visit India and Pakistan in the near future; Messrs. Kreveld (Belgium) and Montagne (France) visited officers of the International Union of Socialist Youth during their Innsbruck Meeting, March 1950; and, according to WAY: Statement of Secretariat, p. 2, Secretary General Mercereau also visited Germany on WAY matters, and the WAY Vice President made useful contacts with representatives from the Scandinavian countries.
  5. WAY: Statement of Secretariat, p. 3.
  6. *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

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4. By organizing a small-scale exchange of young people between European countries during the summer;<sup>1</sup> by working closely with UNESCO regarding the coordination of all travel and exchange plans; by studying some of the difficulties which prevent young people from traveling; and also by studying the problems of emigration;<sup>2</sup> and

5. By actively preparing for the Second WAY Council Meeting at Istanbul.<sup>3</sup>

E. Relations with Inter-Governmental Organizations

In order to fulfill its aim of working for the "...true satisfaction of youth's needs..." the WAY Charter provides for the establishment and maintenance of relations with inter-governmental organizations.<sup>4</sup> Accordingly, the WAY applied for consultative status with both the UN ECOSOC and UNESCO. It was awarded Consultative Status in Category "B" by the UN ECOSOC on March 3, 1950.<sup>5</sup> Its application with UNESCO is still pending, and action thereon will probably be taken at the September meeting of the Executive Board.<sup>6</sup> The Secretariat of the WAY was advised by International Labour Office (ILO) officials to keep in close touch with all aspects of ILO work although it does not provide for consultative status.<sup>7</sup> Observers from UNESCO, the UN ECOSOC and the ILO have attended all the important meetings of the WAY, and consultants or representatives of the WAY have also attended their meetings.<sup>8</sup>

1. WAY Circular No. 24 carries the Travel and Exchange Commission's recommendation to all National Committees to undertake such a small group exchange scheme on the basis of reciprocal hospitality; and WAY: Statement by the Secretariat, Part I, p. 2.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., and WAY Circulars Nos. 11, 16, 22, 25 and 28.
4. WAY Charter, Article III - Purposes, section (h).
5. UN ECOSOC E/1657, 20 March 1950, Tenth Session, Item 30 (i).
6. Statement by Miss Margaret Mahoney, UNESCO, July 20, 1950.
7. Official Minutes of the WAY Executive Committee Meeting, January 6-8, 1950, Amsterdam, p. 7.
8. Mr. Arnulf Pins (USA) was appointed permanent consultant for WAY, Ibid., p. 6; Mr. Jean Jousselein (France) represented WAY at the conference of organizers of International work camps called by UNESCO in Paris, April 21-22; Maria Carosi (Italy) represented WAY at the General Confederation of UNESCO at Florence, May 23 - June 16; Pat Keegan (UK) represented WAY at the 33rd Conference of the ILO in Geneva, June 7 to July 1; Truong-Cong Cuu, Vice President of the WAY from Viet Nam, attended the regional meeting at Bangkok organized by the Department of Public Information of the United Nations, WAY Forum, Nos. 1 and 2, pp. 13 and 15, respectively.

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The WAY has submitted some of the reports of its commissions to these inter-governmental organizations<sup>1</sup> and has in turn distributed information on them to its National Committees.<sup>2</sup> Finally, the Executive Committee has recommended that the National Committees participate in the celebration of United Nations Day (October 24th) in all countries.<sup>3</sup>

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1. The reports of the 10 commissions of the 1948 founding conference were sent to the UN ECOSOC, UNESCO and the ILO, Work and Leisure, p. 49.
  2. Circulars of the WAY Secretariat.
  3. Materials needed for preparation of this Day have been translated into 35 languages, and the Secretariat of the UN will send copies to all National Committees, WAY Forum, No. 2, June 1, 1950, p. 14.

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IV. FUTURE ACTIVITIESA. Second WAY Council Meeting

The Second Council Meeting of the WAY will be held in Istanbul during August 13-20, 1950 at the invitation of the Turkish National Committee. It is expected that about 250 delegates from 50 countries will attend.<sup>1</sup> The Council Meeting will be preceded by a meeting of the Executive Committee (August 9-11) and followed by a three-day visit of the delegates to Ankara (August 21-23).<sup>2</sup> There will also be a large public meeting during the sessions of the Council to permit participation of young people in Turkey and other youth travelling in the neighborhood.<sup>3</sup>

The sessions will be held at Chale Koshku, one-time summer palace of the Sultan Abdul Hamid, and the delegates will be lodged in two nearby schools.<sup>4</sup> The conference fee will be: \$3.50 for registration, \$2.10 per person per day, plus \$17.50 for the round trip to Ankara and back.<sup>5</sup>

The Standing Commissions of the WAY have undertaken most of the preparations for the Meeting.<sup>6</sup> The Information and Documentation

1. D-712, Brussels, May 26, 1950, p. 2, CONFIDENTIAL and PLAIN Enclosure No. 7 to CONFIDENTIAL D-836, Brussels, June 26, 1950, /Note: Each Member National Committee may appoint four delegates and 8 visitors, but according to Article VI(b) of the WAY Charter, over half of the delegates must be elected representatives of youth organizations, WAY Circular No. 11, Part III.7
2. Official Minutes of the WAY Executive Committee Meeting, January 6-8, 1950, Amsterdam, Section 53.
3. Ibid.
4. PLAIN Enclosure No. 7 to CONFIDENTIAL D-836, Brussels, op. cit.
5. WAY Circular No. 11, Part III, and Official Minutes of WAY Executive Committee Meeting, May 5-7, 1950, Florence.
6. The Three Commissions which did the basic preparatory work are; the Information and Documentation Commission, the Travel and Exchange Commission and the Development Commission, WAY: Statement by the Secretariat, Part I; PLAIN Enclosure No. 7 to CONFIDENTIAL D-836, Brussels, June 26, 1950.

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Commission, for example, sent a questionnaire to each National Committee concerning the educational situation in that country and asked for suggestions as to how necessary reforms might be effected. Each questionnaire was accompanied by a list of references to national and international conventions (for example, the I.L.O. Conventions) and legislation relating to this subject.<sup>1</sup> The Secretariat, in transmitting these questionnaires to the Committees, made the following statement:<sup>2</sup>

Young people under 30 years of age form more than half of the world's population.

60% of these young people have never been to school, either because they belong to a rural or urban working class, or because they live in underdeveloped countries. Most of the rest leave school at an age when their education has hardly begun...

Principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which concern the right to education are not even put into practice...

Education must be extended to all in its fullest sense, and for this purpose certain structural reforms are necessary.

National Committees should study conditions in their own country and it should be possible to choose several points on which precise and practical action can be undertaken on national and international levels...

To ensure careful preparation by everyone attending the Meeting, the Secretariat also prepared and distributed a documented handbook to all National Committees, international organizations, delegates and visitors.<sup>3</sup>

The main work of the Council will deal with the general subject of "Democratic Education", which will be discussed from the following aspects:<sup>4</sup>

1. The legal status of young workers concerning education and culture, with special reference to cooperation with the trades unions; and

2. The position regarding financial aid to students (i.e. all those desiring university or vocational education of whatever type).

1. WAY: Statement by the Secretariat, Part I.

2. Appendix to WAY Circular No. 22, March 14, 1950.

3. WAY Forum No. 2, p. 14, op. cit.

4. Appendix to WAY Circular No. 22, March 14, 1950.

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In addition, the following subjects, prepared, respectively, by the Travel and Exchange and the Development Commissions, will also be discussed:<sup>1</sup>

1. Travel and migration of young people for work, education or leisure. Difficulties arising from legislation regarding exchange and working regulations and visa formalities will be examined; and
2. Development of youth movements in the world.

The Council will also consider organizational and constitutional matters. It will review past year's activities of the Executive Committee, the Secretariat and the Commissions. It will fix the amounts each National Committee will be assessed annually in order to cover total estimated cost of the 1950-51 WAY Budget. It will admit new members, and it is expected at least ten to fifteen Committees will apply for full membership. It will approve amendments to the Charter, elect a new Executive Committee, and outline the 1950-51 program for WAY.<sup>2</sup>

Each of the four Standing Commissions will meet in plenary session and report to the Full Council.<sup>3</sup>

Publicity for the Meeting is being arranged by the Secretariat, which has arranged for daily press conferences while the Council is in session, for the release of press communiques daily to all national and international agencies and newspapers, for several world radio broadcasts of the meetings by Turkish stations and, possibly, for a film of the Meeting.<sup>4</sup>

1. PLAIN Enclosure No. 7 to CONFIDENTIAL D-836, Brussels, June 26, 1950.
2. WAY Circulars Nos. 11 (January 12, 1950) and 16 (January 18, 1950).
3. WAY Circular No. 22, March 14, 1950.
4. WAY Forum No. 2, p. 14, op. cit.

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According to an editorial in the WAY Forum, the official organ of the WAY, "The Istanbul Council will mark a step forward in the solution of the problems of young people and will give the delegates from the more advanced countries the opportunity to study more closely the situation of their friends..." and particularly "to the situation of youth in the Middle East with a view to initiating suitable action."<sup>1</sup>

#### B. Other Events

Some of the most important international activities planned by the WAY this coming year are regional conferences on important youth problems in Europe and Southeast Asia;<sup>2</sup> field trips to various parts of the world for the purpose of extending and developing the work of the WAY in these areas;<sup>3</sup> and a meeting of the General Assembly in 1951.<sup>4</sup>

1. WAY Forum No. 2, June 1, 1950, p. 14. Note: According to a SECRET memorandum from a departmental field representative dated July 19, 1950, pp. 4-5, an important YWCA officer is afraid that this meeting may be strongly attacked by Soviet propaganda "...as an imperialist scheme to take over young people in the Near East."
2. Note: As a result of contacts made by Messrs. Kreveld and Montagne (WAY) with officers of the International Union of Socialist Youth (IUSY) this spring, it appears that IUSY would be willing to take part in a regional European conference, but not one under a WAY label. Accordingly, it has been decided that IUSY Peter Strasser and Remy Montagne of the WAY, and possibly some other person not yet known, may invite all national committees in Europe and international organizations to participate in such a conference and send their representatives to a meeting of the Ad hoc initiating committee that will sponsor and prepare for this conference. The Ad hoc committee may hold its first meeting this fall, and the Regional Conference may be held either in late 1950 or early 1951 (Appendix I to Report of the Development Commission, March 29, 1950). The WAY Executive Committee at its Florence meeting in May confirmed its decision to hold a Southeast Asian Regional Conference as soon as possible. (WAY Forum No. 2, June 1, 1950, p. 14.)
3. See p. 7, fn. 3 of this report.
4. It is believed that this meeting will probably be held in 1952 instead in order to permit sufficient time for adequate preparation.

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The YAC has been approached by the Secretariat regarding the possibility of having this important First Meeting of the General Assembly in the United States. The YAC was officially requested to inform the Executive Committee before the Istanbul Meeting whether it could extend such an invitation and, if so, under what conditions.<sup>1</sup> While the nature of the YAC reply is not known, it might be noted that both the YAC and its parent body, the National Social Welfare Assembly, have been energetically trying to enlist government aid in staging this meeting here during the summer of 1952 by providing the following assistance: (a) low cost transportation from abroad for the delegates; (b) reduced fares for delegates travelling in this country; (c) providing physical facilities for holding the Assembly; and (c) securing prominent personages to participate in the proceedings.<sup>2</sup> It is estimated that about \$170,000 would be needed for this purpose.<sup>3</sup> Despite the heavy expense involved in holding such a meeting, the YAC feels that it would be beneficial both to the organization as a whole and to the United States. It believes that this would be an excellent opportunity to impress favorably delegates from many highly sensitive areas of the world with democracy in action and to counteract many popular misconceptions. Further, the YAC feels that American sponsorship might inject the vitality and enthusiasm needed for making WAY an effective and useful channel for democratic cooperation of young people.<sup>4</sup>

1. Official Minutes of the WAY Executive Committee Meeting, Florence, May 5-7, 1950.

2. SECRET Memoranda from a departmental field representative dated July 19, 1950, pp. 2-4 and July 21, 1950, pp. 1-2.

3. Ibid, dated July 19, 1950, pp. 2-4.

4. SECRET Memorandum from a departmental field representative dated July 19, 1950, pp. 3-4. Note: Embassy London, in CONFIDENTIAL D-2318, November 23, 1948, supported this view by stating, "...the youth of all countries participating would derive great benefits from attending a conference held in America."<sup>7</sup>

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And finally, in the opinion of some American YMCA officers, the future of WAY depends in large part on the success of this meeting -- on its success in appealing to the imagination of the youth from abroad and of capturing their enthusiasm.<sup>1</sup>

1. SECRET Memorandum from a departmental field representative dated July 6, 1950, p. 2.

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# V. EVALUATION

The WAY today provides all types of national non-Communist youth organizations with the only alternative to the Communist WFDY for international cooperation and represents the only challenge to the WFDY in the non-Communist-controlled areas of the world.

Although WAY has been in operation for only a year, it has secured a wide and diverse representation of young people belonging to national youth organizations in 50 countries of Western Europe, the Western European colonial territories, the Near East, Africa, Canada and the United States. Although still financially weak, it has established its central organization on an operating basis. It has developed a program of social reform designed to appeal particularly to youth in the underdeveloped and colonial areas, and it has provided its affiliates with the opportunity of presenting their problems to such public international agencies as the UN ECOSOC, UNESCO and the ILO.

The existence of the WAY as a competitor to the WFDY now offers national youth bodies an opportunity for international action on a non-Communist basis.

The WAY's capabilities for checking and counteracting the WFDY in the non-Communist world depend, for the most part, on the following factors:

1. On WAY's ability to develop a program that will receive the wholehearted, enthusiastic support of non-Communist world youth. The enthusiasm that followed the WFDY in its non-Communist period has been singularly lacking thus far among the youth affiliated with the WAY.

2. On WAY's ability to establish itself on a sound financial basis, nationally and internationally, in order to carry on vigorous and effective informational campaigns which will make WAY's programs and policies known and executed at the "grass root" level of every affiliated organization. Contrast WAY's single<sup>bi-</sup>/monthly publication in French and English with the WFDY's propaganda barrage of a weekly and two monthly publications in four to nine languages, weekly world radio broadcasts in sixteen languages from



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Prague, plus the daily, weekly and monthly publications of its seventy-odd affiliates, and the propaganda disseminated by the Communist governments themselves.

3. On WAY's ability to organize and develop new affiliates, and possibly to displace the WFDY, in such sensitive areas as the Near, Middle, and Far East, Africa and Latin America. Funds for this operation are also a vital factor. Potentially WAY has a better chance of displacing the WFDY in Africa and Latin America than in the other areas because the WFDY does not yet have much of a foothold here, and because the WFDY, by championing the fight of colonial youth for "national liberation," has established itself rather firmly, particularly in the Middle and Far East.

4. On WAY's ability to overcome the feeling of its youth affiliates that there is still too much adult participation and leadership in the WAY. This feeling is derived from the disproportionate number of adults in the formative stages of WAY's organization and is, to a large extent, being corrected.

5. On WAY's ability to avoid Communist penetration.<sup>1</sup> It should be noted, in this connection that, although the WFDY has been invited to WAY meetings, it has on many occasions attacked the WAY as an organization "in the direct service of the warmongers"<sup>2</sup> and has advised its affiliates "to have nothing to do" with the WAY.<sup>3</sup> Needless to say, neither the WFDY nor the Eastern European youth organizations have attended any WAY functions to date. Furthermore, and in spite of the fact that Jean Joussellin of France, one of WAY's sixteen Executive Committee Officers, is reportedly a fellow-traveller, it is doubted whether Communist penetration of WAY represents a serious threat. This is primarily due to the fact that each WAY affiliate has politically conscious, non-Communist adult advisors for each national youth organization, that makes up the national coordinating

1. Embassy Brussels has pointed out that WAY might be vulnerable to Communist penetration, should such be attempted, because of WAY's "open door policy" to Communists, D-836, Brussels, June 26, 1950, CONFIDENTIAL, p. 2.

2. WFDY, Information Service, No. 106, June 23, 1950, p. 2.

3. FBIS Daily Report (Europe), March 18, 1948, p. CC-9.

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body affiliated to the WAY, and these advisors also compose part of each national delegation. Finally, WAY's apolitical policy would seem to afford extremely limited opportunities for either "anti-Western" or "anti-Communist" propaganda.

In summary, therefore, if the WAY is able to operate on a sound financial basis nationally and internationally, if it is able to formulate an inspiring and stimulating program of action during the coming year, and if it is able to develop a program and activities that will attract youth from the colonial areas of the world, then the WAY has a very good chance of offering the WFDY serious rivalry in its role of "championing the rights of world youth and particularly colonial youth."

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APPENDIX AList of Participating Organizations in the WAYI. "Ordinary", or Full, Voting Members:<sup>1</sup>

<u>Country:</u>	<u>Name of National Coordinating Committee:</u>	<u>Number of Organizations:</u>
Algeria	Comite de coordination des mouvements de jeunesse algeriens	11
Belgium	Conseil national de la jeunesse belge	27
Canada	Canadian Association of Youth-Serving Associations	31
Dahomey	Union dahomeenne de la jeunesse	5
Denmark	Joint Council of Danish Youth Organizations	11
France	Conseil francais pour la WAY	33
Gaboon	Conseil de la jeunesse du Gabon	5
Gold Coast	National Consultative Committee of Gold Coast	6
British Guiana	British Guiana Youth Council	7
French Guiana	Conseil de la jeunesse de Guinee	7
Ireland	Foras Eireann	9
Italy	Comitato Nazionale d'Intesa della Gioventu Italiana	13
Madagascar	Comite de la jeunesse malgache	3
Malaya	Malayan Youth Conference	5
Malta	National Youth Consultative Council	15
Martinique	Conseil de la jeunesse de la Martinique	8
Netherlands	Netherlandsche Jeugd Gemeenschap	16
Northern Rhodesia	National Consultative Youth Council	6
Southern Rhodesia	National Youth Council of South Rhodesia	7
Sierra Leone	National Youth Committee	13
Singapore	Singapore Youth Council	7
Surinam	Surinamsche Jeudraad	7
Sweden	Swedish National Youth Council	18

1. The 29 organizations listed above are the Charter members of the WAY. UN ECOSOC Report No. E/C.2/R.1/Add.1, 17 January 1950 reporting on the application for consultative status of the WAY, pp. 36-37, Restricted; WAY Forum, No. 2, June 1, 1950, p. 13.

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I. "Ordinary", or Full, Voting Members: (Continued)

<u>Country:</u>	<u>Name of National Coordinating Committee:</u>	<u>Number of Organizations:</u>
Trinidad	National Council of Trinidad	4
Turkey	Federation of Youth Organizations	4
Union of South Africa	South African Youth Council	11
United Kingdom	British National Committee for WAY	30
United States of America	Young Adult Council <sup>1</sup>	37
Viet Nam	Conseil de la jeunesse Viet-namienne	9

II. "Observer" or Non-Voting Members:<sup>2</sup>

Youth organizations in the following countries have "Observer" status:

Aden	Egypt	Iceland	Norway
Argentina	Germany (3 Western zones and Berlin)	Jamaica	New Zealand
Australia			Pakistan
Brazil	India	Luxembourg	Philippines
Ceylon	Indonesia	Morocco	Switzerland
Colombia	Iraq	Nigeria	Uruguay

1. The American affiliate of the WAY is the Young Adult Council (YAC) of the National Social Welfare Assembly (NSWA), which represents several million members of American youth organizations. The YAC is the national coordinating body of the following major organizations affiliated with it and is composed of four delegates (18-30 age group) and one staff consultant from each of these organizations: American Youth Hostels; American Red Cross, College Units; American Unitarian Youth; National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples; National Catholic Welfare Conference, Youth Department; National Federation of Settlements; National Jewish Youth Conference; the National Council of the YMCA; the National Board of the YWCA; United Christian Youth Movement; Universalist Youth Fellowship; and the National Social Welfare Assembly.

The YAC was organized in May 1948 for the purpose of arranging participation of its affiliated young adult organizations in international conferences; conducting representative national conferences of young adults; planning inter-agency projects that can be carried out in local communities; and of providing a regular means for exchange of policy and program experience and materials.

/Official NSWA 1948 Annual Report: After Three Years, pp. 14-15; The World Assembly of Youth, a Report by American delegate Arnulf M. Pins, p. 2; (NCWC files).<sup>7</sup>

2. UN ECOSOC Report No. E/C.2/R.1/Add.1, 17 January 1950, p. 38, RESTRICTED; official Report of the WAY First Meeting of the Council (Brussels, August 1-7, 1949), p. 7.

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III. "Associate" or Non-Voting Members:<sup>1</sup>

The following three world organizations are "Associate" members;

Boy Scouts International Bureau

World Federation of Young Men's Hebrew Associations and Jewish  
Community Centers

Young Christian Workers

IV. Non-Member Organizations Sending Observers to WAY Meetings:<sup>2</sup>

International Falcon Secretariat

International Federation of Catholic Youth (Girls)

International Federation of Youth Hostels

Salvation Army

World Bureau of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts

World Federation of Liberal and Radical Youth

World Federation of United Nations Associations

World's Alliance of Y.M.C.A.'s

World's Y.W.C.A.

<sup>1</sup>. Ibid

<sup>2</sup>. Official Report of the WAY First Meeting of the Council (Brussels, August 1-7, 1949), p. 7.

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## DIVISION OF BIOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

BIOGRAPHIC SKETCHES ON WAY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OFFICERSOFFICERS:

Chairman:  
SAUVE, Maurice (Canada)  
Vice-Chairman:  
TRUONG cong Ouu (Vietnam)  
KREVELD, G. (Belgium)  
Treasurer:  
ENDERSTEIN, G. (Sweden)  
General Secretary:  
MERCEREAU, P.P. (France)  
Assistant Secretary:  
DALE, H.M. Miss (United Kingdom)

Executive Committee:  
ANNAN, J.S. (Gold Coast)  
ARESKI, E. (Algeria)  
ARNOULD, Mlle E.M. (Belgium)  
CAROSI, Maria (Italy)  
FERRIER, J. (Surinam)  
JOUSSELLIN, Jean (France)  
MONTAGNE, Remy (France)  
KEEGAN, P. (United Kingdom)  
LAWRENCE, ... (French Guinea)  
VENDRIK, M. (Netherlands)  
WOOD, John S. \* (USA)  
TASCIOGLU, M. (Turkey)

\* Indicates no sketch included.

ANNAN, J.S.

Annan, a representative of the Methodist Youth Fellowship, was elected to the Executive Committee of WAY at its first Council Meeting in Brussels, August 1-7, 1949. He is an employee of the Labor Department of the Gold Coast Government, holding the rank of Labor Officer.

ARESKI, E.

E. Areski, a member of the Executive Committee of the WAY is a Moslem, about twenty-six years of age, and a graduate of the University of Algiers Law School. Active in youth movements, he is a member of the Comite de Coordination des Mouvements de Jeunesse Algerienne. He writes for the Republique Algerienne and is thus presumably a Union Democratique du Manifeste du Peuple Algerien member. He is believed to be anti-Communist.

ARNOULD, Emile M. (Mlle.)

Miss Emile M. Arnould was elected a member of the Executive Committee of the WAY at its first Council Meeting in Brussels, August 1-7, 1949. Approximately thirty-seven years of age, she is National President of the Jeunesse Ouvriere Feminine Chretienne. She represents the Jeunesses Feminines Catholiques in the Belgian Conseil National de Jeunesse and will head the Belgian delegation to the WAY Council Meeting in Istanbul in August 1950. She was an adviser to the Belgian delegation to the 27th session of ILO.

CAROSI, Maria Dr.

Is an adult member of the National Committee of Intesa della Gioventu-Italiana, a member of Catholic Action, and a member of the Executive Committee of the WAY. She attended the General Confederation of UNESCO at Florence, May 23 - June 16, 1950, as the WAY representative.

DALE, (Miss) Helen M.

Helen Dale, International Secretary of the Y.W.C.A. was appointed Assistant General Secretary of WAY at its first Council Meeting, Brussels, August 1-7, 1949.

Miss Dale attended secondary school, and it is thought that she probably possesses technical qualifications in social science. The British Foreign Office considers her safe politically, although her opinions tend toward the left.

ENDERSTEIN, Gosta

Born in 1923. Secretary of the Riksdag Bureau of the Swedish Conservative Party. Elected Treasurer of the WAY at its first Council Meeting, Brussels, August 1-7, 1949, but illness during the past year prevented him from assuming duties of office and has forced him to resign. There is no indication that Enderstein has been active in Stockholm in youth organizations, not even in the Conservative Party.

FERRIER, J.

J. Ferrier, member of the Surinaamse Jeugdbrand, a youth organization backed by the Surinam Government, was elected a member of the WAY Executive Committee and later became Treasurer when Gosta Enderstein resigned because of ill health. A former school teacher, he pursued advance studies in the Netherlands under the auspices of the government. He is not known to have any subversive tendencies, and is reported to have impressed the American delegates highly. Born in 1910.

JOUSSELIN, Jean Eduard Leon

Jean Eduard Leon Jouselin, leader of the Conseil Francais pour l'Assemblee Mondiale de la Jeunesse, Secretary of the Protestant Youth Council, and member of the YMCA National Staff in France, was elected to the Executive Committee of the World Assembly of Youth at its first Council Meeting in Brussels, August 1-7, 1949. In August 1948, he was a delegate to the International Youth Conference in London. Jouselin, reportedly a fellow traveler, has supported Communist issues, notably the Stockholm Appeal of the World Partisans of Peace.

KEEGAN, Patrick

Keegan was elected to the Executive Committee of WAY at its first Council Meeting in Brussels, August 1-7, 1949. He represents the Young Christian Workers (English branch of the Jeunesse Ouvriere Chretienne) and is also International Vice President of this organization. He will attend the forthcoming meeting of WAY in Istanbul.

A Catholic, Keegan received only an elementary education, and subsequently worked in a cotton mill. His politics are left-wing, but the British Foreign Office does not consider him a political risk.

KREVELD, G.

G. Kreveld, thirty-one years of age, is Vice Chairman of the Council of the WAY. He is a member of the Belgian Conseil National de la Jeunesse and President of the Jeunesses Socialistes Belges.

LAWRENCE, Antoine

Antoine Lawrence, a member of the Jeunesse Ouvriere Chretienne and Confederation Francaise des Travailleurs Chretiens, is on the Executive Committee of the WAY elected at the first Council Meeting, Brussels, August 1-7, 1949. A native of French Guinea, for the past four years he has been living in France. Although there is no information available concerning any definite Communist leanings on his part, little is known about the Comite Jeunesse Guineenne, of which he is also a member.

MERCEREAU, F.P.

F.P. MERCEREAU, General Secretary of the WAY, was appointed to this position at the first meeting of the Council in Brussels, August 1-7, 1949. He is a member of the Conseil Francaise for the Assemblée Mondiale de la Jeunesse, and has had experience in working with Catholic youth organizations in France. In 1946 he was invited to the USSR with other youth leaders; however in June 1947, as a representative of the Union Patriotique des Organisations de Jeunesse, he expressed the desire to form a world youth association more representative of political, religious, and lay youth organizations than the Communist-dominated WFDY.

MONTAGNE, Remy

Remy Montagne, Catholic leader in the Conseil Francaise pour l'Assemblée Mondiale de la Jeunesse, is a member of the Executive Council of the WAY.

SAUVE, Maurice Deguay

Sauve represents the National Federation of Canadian University Students, which decided against affiliation with the IUS in 1948. He was born September 20, 1923, in Montreal. He attended the Prague Youth Conference in 1949 and was temporary chairman of the London meeting, World Assembly of Youth. He was elected Chairman of WAY for a one-year term at its first Council Meeting in Brussels in August 1949. Montreal and Ottawa sources report that according to available information he has no left-wing connections.

TASCIOGLU, Mikerrem

Member of the Federation Nationale des Etudiants Turque; was elected to the Executive Committee of the World Assembly of Youth, at its first Council Meeting, August 1-7, 1949, Brussels.

Born in Turkey approximately 25 years ago, Tascioglu is a graduate of the Technical University in Istanbul (Galata - Saray - Lycee) and is now studying engineering in Liege, Belgium.

TRUONG cong Cuu

Born c. 1918; educated in Hanoi and Paris, where he obtained the degree of Doctor of Letters from the University of Paris; returned to Paris in 1943 to teach, and is now an Instructor of Psychology at the University of Paris. He is a member of the Comité National de Jeunesse Vietnam and was elected Vice Chairman, WAY, Brussels, August 1949. He has visited several countries of the Far East in early 1950 on behalf of the WAY in order to help organize and develop affiliated organizations.

VENDRIK, M. Miss

M. Vendrik, a leader of the Nederlandse Jeugd Gemeenschap (Netherlands Youth Organization) and of the Catholic Girl Guides, Utrecht, was elected to the Executive Committee of the WAY at its first Council Meeting, Brussels, August 1-7, 1949.





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Project: **IP-57**

OFFICE OF REPORTS AND ESTIMATES

Project Initiation Memorandum

Date: **29 Dec. '49**

To: **D/EE**

From: Publications Division, Projects Planning **REL**

Subject: **Satellite Politburo Members**

Statement of Project:

Origin: **Internal**

Problem: **To list in order of importance the members of the politburos in each of the countries noted.**

Scope:

- 1. Rumania**
- 2. Poland**
- 3. Czechoslovakia**
- 4. Albania**
- 5. Yugoslavia**

Graphics (if any):

Form: **Lists, to be prepared as in IP-54, by D/EE**

Draft due in D/Pub: **earliest convenience**

Dissemination deadline  
(if any):

Responsible Division: **D/EE to prepare**

Internal Coordination:

Departmental responsibilities:

Classification to be no higher than: **Secret**

Recommended Dissemination: **R.O.**

CONFIDENTIAL

**CONFIDENTIAL**

1P-57


22 December 1949

MEMORANDUM FOR: D/Pub, ORE

25X1A

ATTENTION : 

SUBJECT : Listings of Satellite Politbureau Members

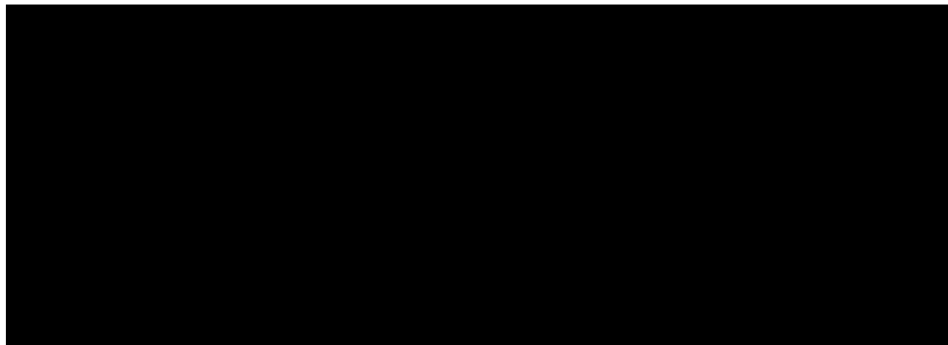
1. Reference is made to our 21 December 1949 memorandum,  asking for a listing of Hungarian Politbureau members.

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2. It is requested that similar listings be prepared on Rumania, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Albania. It is also requested that a list be prepared for Yugoslavia, if appropriate.

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REFERENCE:



**CONFIDENTIAL**

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<b>CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY OFFICIAL ROUTING SLIP</b>			
<b>TO</b>		<b>INITIALS</b>	<b>DATE</b>
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<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between; font-weight: normal; font-size: 0.8em;"> <span>SECRET</span> <span>CONFIDENTIAL</span> <span>RESTRICTED</span> <span>UNCLASSIFIED</span> </div>			

STATINTL

REFERENCE: [REDACTED]

**SECRET**

25X1A The present membership of the Politburo of the Rumanian Workers Party (Communist) in order of importance of individual members, is estimated as follows:

1. Iosef Chisinevski Deputy in the Grand National Assembly
2. Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej (Secretary General of the RWP) First Vice-President, Presidency of Council of Ministers; President, Supreme Economic Commission
3. Ana Pauker Second Vice-President, Presidency of Council of Ministers; Minister of Foreign Affairs
4. Vasile Luca Third Vice-President, Presidency of Council of Ministers, Minister of Finance
5. Emil Bodnarus Minister of National Defense
6. Miron Constantinescu President, State Planning Commission
7. Teohari Georgescu Minister of Interior
8. Alexander Moghioros Member of the Presidium, Grand National Assembly; In charge of Government's agricultural production campaign
9. Gheorghe Apostel President, General Confederation of Labor (not a government post)
10. Gheorghe Vasilichi Minister of Mines and Oil
11. Lotar Radacescu Minister of Labor and Social Welfare Former Socialist
12. Stefan Voitec Chairman, Commission for Organization of Cooperatives
13. Teodor Iordachescu Released "at his own request" from post of Minister of Public Works 24 Sep 49 Former Socialist

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4 January 1950

The Yugoslav Politburo. It should be emphasized that the Yugoslav Politburo is a closely-knit operating unit, in which seniority among the top five or six, apart from Tito himself, is a matter of considerable doubt and speculation.

- |                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| 1. Josip Broz-Tito    | Premier and Minister of National Defense  |
| 2. Edvard Kardelj     | First Deputy Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs  |
| 3. Aleksandr Rankovic | Minister of Interior (By some sources reportedly No. 2 man in Tito Gov.)  |
| 4. Milovan Djilas     | Minister without Portfolio, coordinating work of all Federal Com.   |
| 5. Mosa Pijade        | Vice-President of General Assembly; the "elder statesman of CPY"  |
| 6. Boris Kidric       | Head of Planning Commission and Economic Council; reportedly the "economic czar" of Yugoslavia                                |
| 7. Ivan Gosnjak       | Assistant Minister of National Defense; next to Tito reportedly the most influential military representative of Yugoslav army |
| 8. Blagoje Neskovic   | Third Deputy Premier and a "dark horse" among ranking Communists  |
| 9. Franc Leskovsek    | Minister of Heavy Industry  |

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The present membership of the Politburo of the Albanian Communist Party, in order of importance of individual members, is estimated to be as follows:

- |                   |  |
|-------------------|--|
| 1. Enver Hoxha    | Premier, Secretary General of Communist Party, Minister of Foreign Affairs   |
| 2. Mehmet Shehu   | Minister of Interior, Vice Premier   |
| 3. Bedri Spahiu   | Political Secretary of the Central Committee                                 |
| 4. Mysli Kapo     | Political Director of the Army, Secretary General of Albanian National Front |
| 5. Tuk Jakova     | Deputy Secretary of Communist Party<br>Vice Premier                          |
| 6. Gogo Nushi     | Minister of Industry   |
| 7. Liri Belishova | Member of Politburo, Member of Central Committee                             |
| 8. Spiro Kuleka   | Minister of Public Works, Vice Premier                                       |
| 9. Beqir Balluku  | Chief of the Army General Staff  |

**SECRET**



4 January 1950

The members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the United Polish Workers Party or Polish Communist Party are listed below in what is believed to be their present order of importance.

1. Jakub Berman Undersecretary of State at the Presidium of the Council of Ministers (Cabinet) (PPR)\*
2. Boleslaw Bierut President of Poland, President of Council of State (PPR) Sec. Gen. of PZPR
3. Franciszek Jozwiak (pss.: "Witold" "Franek"), general of division, President, Supreme Control Chamber, head of Central Commission of Party Control, member of Council of State (PPR)
4. Aleksander Zawadzki Chairman, Central Committee of Trade Unions, member of Council of State (PPR)
5. Hilary Minc Chairman of State Council of Economic Planning, Chairman of Economic Committee of Council of Ministers, Vice-Premier (PPR)
6. Roman Zambrowski Vice-Marshal of the Legislative Sejm (Parliament), member of the Council of State (PPR)
7. Stanislaw Radkiewicz Minister of Public Security, general of division (PPR)
8. Jozef Cyrankiewicz Premier of Poland (PPS)
9. Henryk Swiatkowski Minister of Justice (PPS)
10. Adam Rapacki Minister of Navigation (PPS)
11. Vacancy

\*Prior to December 1948:

PPS -- Polish Socialist Party

PPR -- Polish Workers Party

Both now united in PZPR -- United Polish Workers Party

**SECRET**

4 January 1950

**Members of the Secretariat-General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.**

- |                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| 1. Rudolph Slansky    | Secretary General of Communist Party of Czechoslovakia  |
| 2. Klement Gottwald   | President Czechoslovak Republic, Chairman Communist Party                                       |
| 3. Ladislav Kopriva   | Chairman Cadre Section of Secretariat of Central Committee of Communist Party                   |
| 4. Stefan Bastonovsky | Secretary General of Slovakian Communist Party  |
| 5. Gustav Bares       | Chairman Cultural and Propaganda Section of Secretariat of Central Committee of Communist Party |
| 6. Marie Svernova     | Chairman Organization Section of Secretariat of Central Committee of Communist Party            |
| 7. Josef Frank        | Chairman State Planning Section of Secretariat of Central Committee of Communist Party          |

It must be realized that the Czechoslovak Communist Party has no formal Political Bureau as in the Soviet and other Communist Parties. The Secretariat-General of the Czechoslovak Communist Party can be considered as a sort of nucleus within a larger (22 member) Presidium of the Central Committee of the Party. The Presidium is a standing committee of the Central Committee and includes a broad representation of government and economic ministries, as well as all of the above listed members of the Secretariat-General. Both the Secretariat-General and the Presidium of the Central Committee are key policy-making bodies.

It should also be noted that several very important personages in the Czechoslovak Party and Government are not listed here. Chief of these is Bedrich Geminder, ranking, with Rudolph Slansky, as one of the two most important Stalinists in Czechoslovakia. Geminder holds no overt Party or Governmental position in Czechoslovakia other than that of Czechoslovak representative on the Cominform. Another important personality is Antonin Zapotocky, who is not a member of the Secretariat-General (since it is a purely party organization), but who is a member of the Presidium.

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File

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Project: **IP-58**

OFFICE OF REPORTS AND ESTIMATES

Project Initiation Memorandum

Date: **16 Jan. '50**

To: **D/EE**

From: Publications Division, Projects Planning

Subject: **Rumanian National Committee**

Statement of Project:

Origin: **Internal**

**25X1a□y□δ□**

Problem: **To evaluate [REDACTED] with particular regard to the attitude of King Mihai toward Rumanian National Committee**

Scope:

Graphics (if any):

Form: **Memo to be drafted by D/EE**

Draft due in D/Pub: **earliest convenience**

Dissemination deadline  
**11/1/51**

Responsible Division: **D/EE**

Internal Coordination: **None**

Departmental responsibilities: **None**

Classification to be no higher than: **SECRET**

Recommended Dissemination: **Requester only**

**SECRET**

Approved For Release 2000/09/12 : CIA-RDP79T01049A000100060001-0

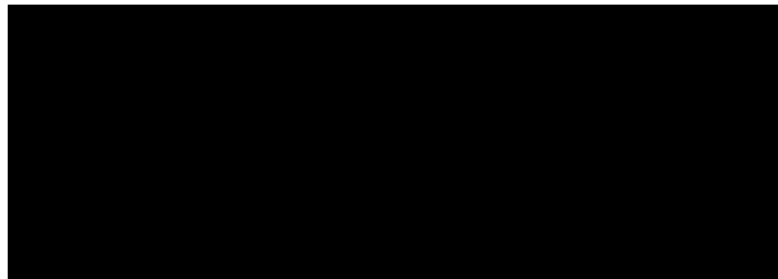
**SECRET**

10 January 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR: D/Pub, ORR 25X1A  
ATTENTION : [REDACTED]  
SUBJECT : Evaluation of two SO documents,  
[REDACTED] 25X1A

It is requested that an evaluation be made of the two attached SO documents. In particular, clarification of the attitude of King Mihai toward the make-up of the Rumanian National Committee is sought.

25X1A



Attachment: (2)

**SECRET**